

# TIME



## WAS HE WORTH IT?

The cost of bringing Sgt. Bergdahl home

By David Von Drehle

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For people with a higher risk of stroke due to  
Atrial Fibrillation (AFib) not caused by a heart valve problem



ELIQUIS® (apixaban) is a prescription medicine used to reduce the risk of stroke and blood clots in people who have atrial fibrillation, a type of irregular heartbeat, not caused by a heart valve problem.

### IMPORTANT SAFETY INFORMATION:

- Do not stop taking ELIQUIS for atrial fibrillation without talking to the doctor who prescribed it for you. Stopping ELIQUIS increases your risk of having a stroke. ELIQUIS may need to be stopped, prior to surgery or a medical or dental procedure. Your doctor will tell you when you should stop taking ELIQUIS and when you may start taking it again. If you have to stop taking ELIQUIS, your doctor may prescribe another medicine to help prevent a blood clot from forming.
- ELIQUIS can cause bleeding, which can be serious, and rarely may lead to death.
- You may have a higher risk of bleeding if you take ELIQUIS and take other medicines that increase your risk of bleeding, such as aspirin, NSAIDs, warfarin (COUMADIN®), heparin, SSRIs or SNRIs, and other blood thinners. Tell your doctor about all medicines, vitamins and supplements you take. While taking ELIQUIS, you may bruise more easily and it may take longer than usual for any bleeding to stop.
- Get medical help right away if you have any of these signs or symptoms of bleeding:
  - unexpected bleeding, or bleeding that lasts a long time, such as unusual bleeding from the gums; nosebleeds that happen often, or menstrual or vaginal bleeding that is heavier than normal
  - bleeding that is severe or you cannot control
  - red, pink, or brown urine; red or black stools (looks like tar)
  - coughing up or vomiting blood or vomit that looks like coffee grounds
  - unexpected pain, swelling, or joint pain; headaches, feeling dizzy or weak
- ELIQUIS is not for patients with artificial heart valves.
- Spinal or epidural blood clots or bleeding (hematoma). People who take ELIQUIS, and have medicine injected into their spinal and epidural area, or have a spinal puncture have a risk of forming a blood clot that can cause long-term or permanent loss of the ability to move (paralysis).



# I focused on finding something better than warfarin.

## NOW I TAKE ELIQUIS® (apixaban) FOR 3 GOOD REASONS:

- 1 ELIQUIS reduced the risk of stroke better than warfarin.
- 2 ELIQUIS had less major bleeding than warfarin.
- 3 Unlike warfarin, there's no routine blood testing.

ELIQUIS and other blood thinners increase the risk of bleeding which can be serious, and rarely may lead to death.

## Ask your doctor if ELIQUIS is right for you.

This risk is higher if, an epidural catheter is placed in your back to give you certain medicine, you take NSAIDs or blood thinners, you have a history of difficult or repeated epidural or spinal punctures. Tell your doctor right away if you have tingling, numbness, or muscle weakness, especially in your legs and feet.

- **Before you take ELIQUIS**, tell your doctor if you have: kidney or liver problems, any other medical condition, or ever had bleeding problems. Tell your doctor if you are pregnant or breastfeeding, or plan to become pregnant or breastfeed.

- **Do not take ELIQUIS** if you currently have certain types of abnormal bleeding or have had a serious allergic reaction to ELIQUIS. A reaction to ELIQUIS can cause hives, rash, itching, and possibly trouble breathing. Get medical help right away if you have sudden chest pain or chest tightness, have sudden swelling of your face or tongue, have trouble breathing, wheezing, or feeling dizzy or faint.

*You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.*

**Please see additional Important Product Information on the adjacent page.**

Individual results may vary.

Visit [ELIQUIS.COM](http://ELIQUIS.COM)  
or call 1-855-ELIQUIS

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**Eliquis.**  
(apixaban) tablets 5mg  
2.5mg



## IMPORTANT FACTS about ELIQUIS® (apixaban) tablets

Rx ONLY

The information below does not take the place of talking with your healthcare professional. Only your healthcare professional knows the specifics of your condition and how ELIQUIS may fit into your overall therapy. Talk to your healthcare professional if you have any questions about ELIQUIS (pronounced ELL eh kwiss).

### What is the most important information I should know about ELIQUIS (apixaban)?

For people taking ELIQUIS for atrial fibrillation: **Do not stop taking ELIQUIS without talking to the doctor who prescribed it for you. Stopping ELIQUIS increases your risk of having a stroke.** ELIQUIS may need to be stopped, prior to surgery or a medical or dental procedure. Your doctor will tell you when you should stop taking ELIQUIS and when you may start taking it again. If you have to stop taking ELIQUIS, your doctor may prescribe another medicine to help prevent a blood clot from forming.

**ELIQUIS can cause bleeding** which can be serious, and rarely may lead to death. This is because ELIQUIS is a blood thinner medicine that reduces blood clotting.

**You may have a higher risk of bleeding if you take ELIQUIS** and take other medicines that increase your risk of bleeding, such as aspirin, nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (called NSAIDs), warfarin (COUMADIN®), heparin, selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs) or serotonin norepinephrine reuptake inhibitors (SNRIs), and other medicines to help prevent or treat blood clots.

Tell your doctor if you take any of these medicines. Ask your doctor or pharmacist if you are not sure if your medicine is one listed above.

### While taking ELIQUIS:

- you may bruise more easily
- it may take longer than usual for any bleeding to stop

**Call your doctor or get medical help right away if you have any of these signs or symptoms of bleeding when taking ELIQUIS:**

- unexpected bleeding, or bleeding that lasts a long time, such as:
  - unusual bleeding from the gums
  - nosebleeds that happen often

- menstrual bleeding or vaginal bleeding that is heavier than normal
- bleeding that is severe or you cannot control
- red, pink, or brown urine
- red or black stools (looks like tar)
- cough up blood or blood clots
- vomit blood or your vomit looks like coffee grounds
- unexpected pain, swelling, or joint pain
- headaches, feeling dizzy or weak

**ELIQUIS (apixaban) is not for patients with artificial heart valves.**

**Spinal or epidural blood clots or bleeding (hematoma).** People who take a blood thinner medicine (anticoagulant) like ELIQUIS, and have medicine injected into their spinal and epidural area, or have a spinal puncture have a risk of forming a blood clot that can cause long-term or permanent loss of the ability to move (paralysis). Your risk of developing a spinal or epidural blood clot is higher if:

- a thin tube called an epidural catheter is placed in your back to give you certain medicine
- you take NSAIDs or a medicine to prevent blood from clotting
- you have a history of difficult or repeated epidural or spinal punctures
- you have a history of problems with your spine or have had surgery on your spine

If you take ELIQUIS and receive spinal anesthesia or have a spinal puncture, your doctor should watch you closely for symptoms of spinal or epidural blood clots or bleeding. Tell your doctor right away if you have tingling, numbness, or muscle weakness, especially in your legs and feet.

### What is ELIQUIS?

ELIQUIS is a prescription medicine used to:

- reduce the risk of stroke and blood clots in people who have atrial fibrillation.

- reduce the risk of forming a blood clot in the legs and lungs of people who have just had hip or knee replacement surgery.

It is not known if ELIQUIS is safe and effective in children.

### Who should not take ELIQUIS (apixaban)?

#### Do not take ELIQUIS if you:

- currently have certain types of abnormal bleeding
- have had a serious allergic reaction to ELIQUIS. Ask your doctor if you are not sure

#### What should I tell my doctor before taking ELIQUIS?

**Before you take ELIQUIS, tell your doctor if you:**

- have kidney or liver problems
- have any other medical condition
- have ever had bleeding problems
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if ELIQUIS will harm your unborn baby
- are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if ELIQUIS passes into your breast milk. You and your doctor should decide if you will take ELIQUIS or breastfeed. You should not do both

Tell all of your doctors and dentists that you are taking ELIQUIS. They should talk to the doctor who prescribed ELIQUIS for you, before you have any surgery, medical or dental procedure.

**Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.** Some of your other medicines may affect the way ELIQUIS works. Certain medicines may increase your risk of bleeding or stroke when taken with ELIQUIS.

#### How should I take ELIQUIS?

**Take ELIQUIS exactly as prescribed by your doctor.** Take ELIQUIS twice every day with or without food, and do not change your dose or stop taking it unless your doctor tells you to. If you miss a dose of ELIQUIS, take it as soon as you remember, and do

not take more than one dose at the same time. **Do not run out of ELIQUIS (apixaban). Refill your prescription before you run out.** When leaving the hospital following hip or knee replacement, be sure that you will have ELIQUIS available to avoid missing any doses. **If you are taking ELIQUIS for atrial fibrillation, stopping ELIQUIS may increase your risk of having a stroke.**

#### What are the possible side effects of ELIQUIS?

- See "What is the most important information I should know about ELIQUIS?"

• ELIQUIS can cause a skin rash or severe allergic reaction. Call your doctor or get medical help right away if you have any of the following symptoms:

- chest pain or tightness
- swelling of your face or tongue
- trouble breathing or wheezing
- feeling dizzy or faint

Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all of the possible side effects of ELIQUIS. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

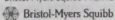

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.


This is a brief summary of the most important information about ELIQUIS. For more information, talk with your doctor or pharmacist, call 1-855-ELIQUIS (1-855-354-7847), or go to [www.ELIQUIS.com](http://www.ELIQUIS.com).

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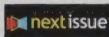
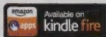
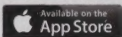
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# TIME

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anytime



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stories on your tablet  
and smartphone



## What You Said About ...



**TRANSGENDER RIGHTS** "TIME is the new black," announced *Us Weekly* magazine in an online piece on our June 9 cover story featuring transgender activist (and *Orange Is the New Black* star) Laverne Cox. Writer Katy Steinmetz's story—in which Cox dis-

cussed being bullied and attempting suicide—was widely shared on Twitter and drew accolades from readers like San Diego psychotherapist Patricia Wojdowski, who called it a "very excellent, sensitive and comprehensive essay." Demonstrating one of the story's arguments, some readers dismissed the issue of gender identity as irrelevant. "A person who is born biologically as a male or female ... is male or female, and always will be," wrote Gregg Burdulis of Nutley, N.J. On National Review Online, a piece responding to TIME's story was titled "Laverne Cox Is Not a Woman." Meanwhile, Steven Petrow at the *Washington Post* took the opportunity to display TIME's cover accompanied by an advice column on appropriate ways to refer to trans people: "Civilities: Transgender Etiquette 101."

**AFFORDING THE ACA** David Cohn of Bellingham, Wash., thanked TIME for Steven Brill's "The Hidden Cliffs in Obamacare," which highlighted little-known inequities of "what my wife and I now refer to as the 'Unaffordable Health Care Act.'" R. Philip Grizzard of Normal, Ill., defended the law as sensible: "People used to go bankrupt when they had a major medical emergency. Now, they'll spend up to 27% of their income. To me, that sounds quite a bit more ... affordable."

**BOOMERS VS. MILLENNIALS** Samuel P. Jacobs' tongue-in-cheek TIME.com piece on how millennials should handle baby boomers in the office drew some pointed commentary—from Jacobs' elders. "Most boomers have a more honest work ethic than this jerk," wrote Michael Legel on TIME.com. "And the majority will never retire. They can't afford to!"

### SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In Briefing (June 9), we misidentified Nawaz Sharif; he is Pakistan's Prime Minister. In "A Premie Revolution" (June 2), we incorrectly described the therapy known as CPA.P. It stands for continuous positive airway pressure.

## Write to us

Send an email: [letters@time.com](mailto:letters@time.com). Please do not send attachments

Send a letter: TIME Magazine Letters, Time & Life Building, New York, NY 10020. Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

### NOW ONLINE

It should be a lot more fun to manage your finances, thanks to Money magazine's newly relaunched site, Money.com, which debuts with a package on money and love. Among the features:

#### 1 LOVE BY THE NUMBERS

A national survey charts spouses' attitudes (and frequently crossed signals) about their finances

#### 2 NEW NEWLYWED GAME

A spin on the game show, in which contestants aim to predict their spouses' responses

#### 3 CHEAP TRAVEL

A primer on attending the World Cup for less



**BEHIND THE STORY** For his feature on former Montana governor and potential presidential contender Brian Schweitzer (page 36), Washington bureau chief Michael Scherer (above left) spent two days in and around the politician's hometown at what Scherer calls Camp Schweitzer. One activity: riding over elk tracks at Phillipsburg's Ranch at Rock Creek. "He made a bit of fun of me, saying he'd have a mule for me to ride so I'd be lower to the ground," says Scherer. "But I think I acquitted myself quite well."



**NOW ON LIGHTBOX** The most important photograph of Jeff Widener's career—which shows a man confronting a government tank during pro-democracy demonstrations in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989—makes him anxious. "I don't have it on my wall," he says, "because every time I look at it, it reminds me how close I came to messing it up." On the 25th anniversary of the protests, visit our photo blog for a video chronicling how Widener got—and nearly missed—the world-famous image.

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# 100

**days of summer.  
days of hope.**

Summer is the season we've all been waiting for. It's 100 days of high dives, ball games and barbecues. It's 100 ways to dress a burger, catch some shade or get out of town. It's 100 chances to clear the calendar for what's most important.

Every two seconds this summer, someone like you will need blood. Donating is quick and easy and, like all good things this time of year, it's worth celebrating.

What are your summer plans? This summer, there are 100 chances to give hope. Choose your day to help save three lives. Donate blood.

**Choose your day to give hope.**  
[redcrossblood.org](http://redcrossblood.org)



**American  
Red Cross**

# Briefing



**200 ft.**

Distance an inflatable bounce house was blown by a 30-m.p.h. gust of wind near Denver; two children were injured



**'[It is] time to hand over to a new generation.'**

**KING JUAN CARLOS I OF SPAIN**, on his decision to abdicate the throne after almost 40 years; Crown Prince Felipe, 40, will be his successor



GOOD WEEK  
BAD WEEK



**'If he comes up too fast, it could kill him.'**



**BOB BERGDAHL**, likening the return of his son Sergeant Bowe Bergdahl, who was held captive by the Afghan Taliban for nearly five years, to a diver surfacing from the ocean's depths

**77,000**



Number of foreign banks and other financial institutions that have agreed to share information about U.S. account holders with the IRS

**'A small number [of Texans] have recently crossed the line from enthusiasm to downright foolishness.'**

**THE NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION**, in a statement criticizing gun owners who have started openly carrying large firearms into public places because it's technically legal to do so in Texas; the move has been criticized by many local businesses, including Chipotle

**'I feel appalled.'**

**RONALDO LUIS MAZARIO**, Brazilian soccer legend, on his country's disorganized preparations for the World Cup; the stadium in Brasilia alone cost \$900 million in public funds, triple the estimate



**\$1 billion**

Sum that President Obama has requested that Congress deliver as aid to Central and East European countries to bolster security after Russia's recent actions in Ukraine

**'I'm going to a galaxy far, far away!'**

**LUPITA NYONG'O**, after being cast in *Star Wars: Episode VII*









Briefing

# LightBox

## In Memoriam

Workers at the American cemetery in Colleville-sur-Mer near Omaha Beach in France prepare for events to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the D-Day landings on June 6, 1944, when Allied forces invaded Normandy during World War II.

Photograph by Joel Saget—AFP/Getty Images

FOR PICTURES OF THE WEEK  
GO TO [lightbox.time.com](http://lightbox.time.com)

## World

## Murder Suspect Who Fought in Syria Fuels Concern in the West

When French citizen Mehdi Nemmouche allegedly planned his May 24 assault on Brussels' Jewish Museum—an attack that killed three people—he decided to bring a .38-caliber revolver and an assault rifle. He also brought skills honed on the Syrian battlefield, where he had traveled last year to join with radical Islamist fighters seeking to oust President Bashar Assad, according to French officials who detained Nemmouche as a suspect on May 30.

The fact that a fighter linked to a virulent al-Qaeda offshoot in Syria may have returned to wreak havoc in Europe is a nightmare come true for security officials. Western jihadists risk becoming radicalized in Syria, officials have long warned, and their passports grant them easy access to targets back home.

There is no evidence to indicate that the Brussels attack originated in Syria; in fact, most details about Nemmouche's past reveal that he was radicalized in a French prison in 2012, before he went to Syria.

But with some 3,000 Westerners fighting in Syria, including some 70 Americans, the case has turned a spotlight on a growing area of con-

cern on both sides of the Atlantic. A day after Nemmouche's arrest, French police detained four people suspected of helping recruit fighters to join the Syrian conflict. Earlier in May, Florida native Moner Mohammad Abusalha blew himself up in an attack on a Syrian military target, becoming the first known American suicide bomber in Syria.

Abusalha's attack supports the view among some officials and analysts that for now, foreign jihadists and the groups that back them are focusing on fighting Assad rather than against the West. But that calculation could change, particularly if Western leaders, faced with the inevitability of the regime's continuation in power, decide to change their position and accommodate the government in Damascus. In such a scenario, foreign fighters may turn to targeting their governments back home.



Family members at a funeral for a couple killed in the Brussels museum attack

## EGYPT

# 'I'm tired of struggling and worrying about my safety and that of my family.'

**BASSEM YOUSSEF**, 44, is a prominent Egyptian opposition leader and journalist. He was arrested in 2013 and charged with inciting violence. He is currently in custody.



### RISING OBESITY

A new University of Washington study has found that 2.1 billion people worldwide are overweight or obese. Here's a snapshot of the percentage of people who fall in those categories around the world:

69.4%



Saudi Arabia

67.4%



U.S.

61.1%



Germany

28.3%



China

19.5%



India



King Juan Carlos  
Crown Prince Felipe

## Three Essential Facts About Spain's Next King

After 39 years on the Spanish throne, King Juan Carlos announced on June 2 that he will abdicate in favor of his only son, Crown Prince Felipe de Borbon, who has been playing an increasingly prominent role in the royal household as health problems have taken their toll on his father.

**FREE OF CONTROVERSY** Felipe has managed to avoid the recent scandals that have forced the monarchy on the back foot. In 2012 the King faced embarrassment when it emerged that he had taken an expensive elephant-hunting trip in Botswana while Spain was mired in a recession. Meanwhile, Felipe's sister Cristina became the first modern royal to be questioned in court when she was called to testify in a high-profile corruption case in February.

**HIGH APPROVAL RATINGS** A January survey gave the crown prince an approval rating of 66%. In contrast, only 41% of those polled approved of King Juan Carlos, who once enjoyed broad support among the Spanish public after intervening to stop a coup in the early '80s.

**FAMILY MAN** In 2004, Felipe, a former Olympic yachtsman who was educated at Georgetown University, married Letizia Ortiz, a well-known TV journalist and a middle-class divorcee. Seen as modern and accessible, the couple have since had two young girls, Princesses Leonor and Sofia.



## A Brutal End

**INDIA** Sohan Lal displays photos of his daughter Murti, right, and niece Pushpa, whose bodies were found hanging from a tree in a village in the state of Uttar Pradesh on May 28. The girls, ages 12 and 14, respectively, were gang-raped and killed in an attack that has once again highlighted the problem of sexual violence in India, a year and a half after the brutal gang rape and murder of a student in New Delhi prompted an international outcry. Photograph by Simon de Trey-White—Eyevine/Redux

## The Explainer

### The World Cup's Endangered Mascot

Conservationists in Brazil are calling on FIFA, soccer's governing body, to do more to protect the animal that inspired the mascot for the 2014 World Cup, which begins on June 12. The mascot, adorned with the colors of the Brazilian flag, is based on the country's three-banded armadillo, which rolls into a nearly perfect ball to protect itself.

The armadillo, rolled up



#### The Problem

The armadillo is at risk of extinction as a result of hunting and deforestation. The animal's dry forest habitat in the country's northeast, known as the Caatinga, has been reduced by almost half in recent years.

#### FIFA's Response

FIFA says that by basing the mascot on the Brazilian armadillo and naming it Fuleco—a combination of the Portuguese words for soccer and ecology—it is helping raise awareness about the problem.

#### The Criticism

Activists say FIFA is not doing enough and should invest more money in conservation efforts. They want the organization to work with the government to help designate parts of the Caatinga as protected areas.



SAUDI ARABIA

282

Updated death toll in Saudi Arabia from Middle East Respiratory Syndrome, a new virus, since 2012; officials unexpectedly raised an earlier figure by nearly 50% on June 3

## Trending In



### BREAKTHROUGHS

A solar-powered plane successfully completed a test flight in Switzerland ahead of a planned round-the-world trip in 2015



### TRANSIT

A city in Siberia is offering free rides on its metro system to people who can recite two verses from the works of Russian poet Alexander Pushkin



### DISSENT

The junta in Thailand warned anticoup protesters against flashing the three-fingered salute from The Hunger Games as a sign of dissent.



### TERRORISM

Suspected Boko Haram gunmen killed at least nine worshippers when they opened fire at a church in northeastern Nigeria



## Nation

# Unhappy Meals

Healthier school-lunch standards are again under attack

BY JAY NEWTON-SMALL

AS SCHOOL NUTRITION officials gathered around a conference table in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building on May 27, Michelle Obama's trademark hug-a-stranger vibe was notably absent. "This is unacceptable," she said curtly. "It's unacceptable to me not just as First Lady but also as a mother."

What was irritating Obama was an attempt by the Republican-controlled House of Representatives to ease school nutrition standards she helped pass in 2010. "The stakes couldn't be higher on this issue," Obama said, noting that 1 in 3 U.S. children will develop Type 2 diabetes. "The last thing we can afford to do right now is play politics with our kids' health."

But in the nation's capital, even kids' health can be political, as billions of dollars are at stake depending on what goes into school lunches. In Congress, the interests of farmers and food companies regularly clash with the concerns of parents and the nutritional recommendations of the USDA. Nor is the school-lunch fight new: the standards the First Lady is fighting to preserve have already been weakened once before in response to food-industry opposition.

This was, to some extent, inevitable. Ever since she made school meals a signature issue early in the President's first term, the First Lady has tried to join forces with the food industry on initiatives to shrink package sizes and include healthier fare on kids' menus. In ex-

change, she has moderated her criticism of junk food and acknowledged that there is nothing wrong with the occasional indulgence. (She notably handed out sugar-sweet marshmallow Peeps at the annual White House Easter Egg Roll and has called french fries a favorite food.)

But that tenuous alliance has been breaking down as House Republicans, food-industry groups and other stakeholders have pushed to allow schools to delay the new federal standards. Among the changes, which affect some 50 million

public-school students: full-sugar sodas and junk food are being removed from school vending machines, low-fat replaces whole milk, and every child is required to have at least one serving of fruits or vegetables per meal (see chart, right).

The USDA says 90% of schools are already meeting the standards, but the First Lady's critics argue that the rules are inflexible and full compliance is too costly for some districts. Some accuse her of running a nanny state by trying to dictate what kids eat. Children accustomed to

Tater Tots, they say, are unlikely to start wolfing down kale. And they point to sporadic lunchtime rebellions—such as students in one New Mexico district chucking whole wheat tortillas in the trash—as evidence.

"They are driving students away from healthy school meals while threatening to bankrupt many school meal programs," says Leah Schmidt, president of the School Nutrition Association, which represents 55,000 school nutritionists. Her group—which advisory board includes representatives from Barilla, ConAgra, General Mills and PepsiCo—claims the new standards have caused 1 million kids to eat lunch off campus this year.

Supporters of the new standards say adjusting kids' palates takes time but is worth the effort. They see the push for a delay as the first step on the road to a complete repeal. "It creates a loophole that could allow people to game the system," says Agriculture Secretary Tom Vilsack. The First Lady's allies insist the \$4.5 billion Congress allocated in 2010 provides plenty of help to schools that have found the cost of bringing in fresh foods prohibitive.

More lunchroom trading is likely. In 2011, Republicans held up funding for the new rules, which are being put into effect gradually over 12 years, in order to extract concessions favorable to the potato and cheese industries. The result: even the revised standards count the small amount of tomato sauce in pizza as a vegetable serving and allow french fries (albeit the new baked ones) to be served as often as a school wishes. Spa cuisine it is not.

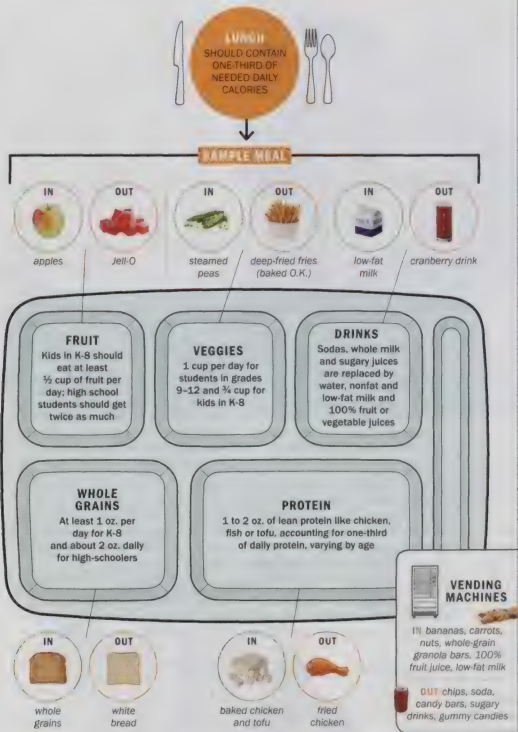
**FOOD FIGHTER**  
The First Lady's war on obesity has hit some well-funded resistance





## A LEANER MENU

Congress has revised school-lunch nutrition guidelines in recent years, replacing foods high in fat and sugars with healthier options



## The Rundown

**CRIME** Two 12-year-old Wisconsin girls were charged with attempted murder June 2 after allegedly luring a classmate into the woods and stabbing her 19 times. The victim crawled to safety and is in stable condition. Police say the preteens were inspired by Slender Man, an urban legend popular among writers of online horror fiction. The girls have been charged as adults and face up to 60 years in prison.

### INCOME

## \$15

The new minimum hourly wage in **Seattle** after a unanimous city council vote on June 3. The measure, which will be phased in over seven years, gives Seattle the highest hourly wage of any major city and is more than double the federal minimum of \$7.25. The vote is the latest effort to address income inequality at the local level as Democratic attempts to raise the federal wage floor have stalled.

### ELECTIONS

Six-term Republican Senator **Thad Cochran** is likely headed for a runoff with Chris McDaniel, a Tea Party-backed state senator, after neither candidate clinched 50% of the vote in **Mississippi's** June 3 primary. If Cochran loses the June 24 runoff, it could make the seat competitive for Democrats in November.

**MEASLES** At least 334 people have had measles in the U.S. so far this year, the most in 20 years. Cases have been found in 18 states, with the worst outbreak in **Ohio**. Federal health officials attribute the rise to more people refusing vaccinations.

## Put Out the Welcome Mat

One Ohio city's growth strategy? Immigrants

BY ALEX ALTMAN/DAYTON



IN OLD NORTH DAYTON, IT'S EASY TO SPOT the newcomers. Over the past few years, about 3,000 Turkish refugees have settled here and set about rebuilding this blighted neighborhood. Decaying houses with weed-choked lawns are giving way to tidy dwellings with colorful paint jobs. As his minivan winds through the streets, businessman Isom Shakhbandarov points out the white picket fences the Turks favor—a sign that they have achieved the American Dream. “This,” he says from the front seat, “is the Ellis Island of our region.”

Southwest Ohio has never been much of a melting pot. Even now, Dayton's proportion of foreign-born residents is among the lowest of any large U.S. city. But economic decline is the mother of reinvention. Dayton's population has plunged 40% since 1960, as the loss of manufacturing jobs hollowed out its middle class. “We were hit really hard,” says city manager Tim Riordan. And so in 2009, Dayton began plotting an unlikely path to renewal—growing its economy by courting immigrants.

Two years later, the city adopted a series of policies designed to lure new residents: tutoring for foreign students,

support networks to help entrepreneurs clear complex bureaucratic hurdles, and translation services to help immigrants integrate into the community. Libraries began stocking books in new languages. Police officers were directed not to check the immigration status of victims or witnesses of crimes, or of people suspected of minor offenses.

The push to repopulate the city by wooing foreigners was an unusual move at a moment when states from Alabama to Arizona were requiring cops to detain suspected undocumented immigrants. City officials braced for an outcry against the proposal, but few residents balked. (The only pushback at public meetings came from nonresidents who warned that the city could become a magnet for the undocumented.) The initiative, known as Welcome Dayton, won unanimous support from the city commission.

### TURKISH DELIGHT

After getting a warm welcome, Shakhbandarov decided to invest in Dayton's revival



“We made a policy decision to be open,” says Dayton Mayor Nan Whaley. “This is a city that will welcome you.”

Word of mouth helped. A handful of Ahiska Turks, a stateless ethnic minority that was granted refugee status to escape persecution in Russia, resettled in Dayton in 2006, lured by cheap housing and solid jobs. They told friends that neighbors were tolerant of their Muslim faith. Now the Turkish community's leaders have become some of Dayton's best boosters, working to court foreign investment and pumping their own cash into the local economy through new trucking, logistics and real estate businesses.

Dayton is also home to robust communities of Central Africans, Indians and Hispanics, many of whom have started businesses or cultural agencies of their own. City officials have sought to stitch them into the cultural fabric with celebrations of diversity like a new annual parade to commemorate the Mexican Day of the Dead. And the lenient approach to law enforcement has soothed nerves. “They're not chasing people or trying to focus on their legal status,” says Gabriela Pickett, an art gallery owner and Mexican immigrant who has lived in Dayton since 2001. “That's a battle they don't want.”

None of this has required much money, and the economic gains have been relatively modest. But the new approach is paying off. In the year after enacting the policy, Dayton's immigration rate grew by 40%, nearly six times the state average. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce lauded Dayton as one of seven “enterprising cities.” And Dayton has plans to expand its approach by recruiting immigrant entrepreneurs, using a visa program that offers green cards to foreigners who invest in rural or cash-strapped areas.

Dayton's model is attracting copycats elsewhere in the Midwest. And the experiment has “changed the culture and the way people perceive immigrants,” says Tony Ortiz, vice president of Dayton's Hispanic Chamber of Commerce and the head of Latino Affairs at nearby Wright State University. “Instead of a burden, they see these folks as potential taxpayers and contributing members to the area. Instead of chasing them away, all we have to do is make them feel welcome.”



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**Healing Ronaldo** Portugal's star is the best soccer player in the game. Can his exhausted body survive the rigors of the World Cup?

**CRISTIANO RONALDO** WAS THE 29-year-old Portuguese muscle man who was what has been a part of this year, the 20-year-old Portuguese muscle man who was what has been a part of this world this year, the 20-year-old Portuguese muscle man who was what has been a part of this world this year, the 20-year-old Portuguese muscle man who was what has been a part of this world this year.

cludes German, and has hired a physical therapist and two other teammates who are around the club after Ronaldo and another phenomenon healthy is an around the soccer phenomenon been this soccer phenomenon

Height: 6 ft. 1 in.

CONALDO'S BODY

—HIGH

WHAT HE FOUND

Number of starts in those 30 games

278

Number of sprints during the 30 first  
division games he played for Real

Total miles run in  
about 30 games

216.6

2000  
 (Aspirin)  
 2000

Y

## BRAIN

**Sports**  
scientists say the  
recuperating Ronaldo  
needs to get ample sleep.  
Fatigue could impair his  
decisionmaking at  
key moments.

**METABOLISM**

A strict schedule of sleeping, eating and hydration supports recovery from injury. Ronaldo needs to sleep in stretches of eight or more hours, and when awake, he should eat small amounts of food every few hours.





**HOW HE RECOVERES** Because of the number of games, Konrad plays, recovery is an important as training. He relies on water-based therapies to speed up the healing.

**1 Contrast bath therapy**  
He alternates between five-minute hot and cold baths for a cycle of 30 minutes to help circulation. The therapy also has an anti-inflammatory effect on any soreness that may have occurred during a game.

**2 pool workout** pool hoses himself down with hose for 20 minutes, then hoses himself down with hose for 20 minutes, then hoses himself down with hose for 20 minutes.

**3 Turkish bath**  
He sweats it out for five minutes, then forces himself down the stairs. The intense hot water have a calming effect on the nervous system, allowing Ronaldo to sleep better.

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Real Madrid's medical staff diagnosed Ronaldo's hamstring injury on April 10. After resting for some games, he played three more times before reinjuring the hamstring on May 7. That sidelined him until he played in Europe's Champions League final on May 24.

Ronaldo sat out Real Madrid games on April 5 and 8 with knee tendinitis. This came after a 21-day period during which he played 13 games.

Notice the tape on Ronaldo's leg. The stretchy adhesive is often used by professional athletes and is thought to correct and support the alignment of muscles, particularly after an injury, making it easier to produce the force needed for game-day performance.

Ronaldo played 122 games in the two seasons that spanned 2006-08 for Manchester United and Portugal and later required ankle surgery to remove loose cartilage.

The connective tissue in the foot—the fascia—is wrapped around nerves that are critical to ball control. Tired players make mistakes with their feet. Not Ronaldo: 22 of his 61 goals so far this season were scored after the 70th minute.

## Health

While it's rare, overheated batteries have exploded

E-cig-related calls to poison-control centers rose 219% from 2012 to 2013

The vapor contains the carcinogen formaldehyde, propylene glycol and nicotine

Users inhale chemicals that make airway cells resistant to antibiotics

## The Vapor Trail Tracking the conflicting claims about e-cigarette safety

BY ALICE PARK

A LOOK AT THE NUMBERS shows that vaping is catching on as quickly as smoking did in the 1950s. In just two years, the percentage of smokers who have tried e-cigarettes, which vaporize a liquid solution rather than burn tobacco, jumped from 2% in 2010 to 30% in 2012.

Fueling that trend are claims that e-cigs are a healthier way for people to use nicotine and that they can help smokers kick the habit. The latest report from the U.K. found that the devices were 60% more likely than nicotine patches or gum to help smokers give up cigarettes.

That seems like good news, but as with most data on e-cigs, which are not yet regulated by the Food and Drug Administration, those num-

bers may be a smokescreen. E-cigs still contain nicotine, the stuff that keeps smokers coming back for puff after puff—and according to the U.K. report, just 20% of people who used e-cigs as a cessation tool actually stopped smoking cigarettes.

And this is among people who are motivated to quit. It doesn't mean that smokers who switch to e-cigs either because they think they are safer or so they can smoke where cigarettes are banned are more likely to stop smoking. When these people are included, e-cigarettes are actually less likely to lead to quitting. And that's especially true among teens: high school students who smoke tend to use both.

"Some people likely do quit

smoking on e-cigs, but more people are being deterred from quitting or having their quit effort undermined," says Stanton Glantz of the University of California, San Francisco. The people who quit may be outnumbered by new smokers who start because of e-cigs and former smokers who light up again when their nicotine cravings are reignited by ads for the devices. And while e-cig vapor doesn't contain all the toxic by-products of burning tobacco, e-cigs do emit other harmful agents, including carcinogens.

Most experts agree that e-cigs are the lesser of two evils when compared with traditional tobacco, but they're still a delivery system for a highly addictive drug—and there is still so much we don't know.

## The Checkup

### HEALTH NEWS EXAMINED

**Headline says:** "Paleo Diets Don't Help You Lose Weight"

**Science says:** Researchers put the diet under a microscope and found that the foods our Paleolithic ancestors ate did not trigger the production of hormones that suppress appetite. That "I'm full" feeling comes from soluble fiber; they grazed on insoluble fiber. Modern cavemen eat the soluble kind too, though.

Not quite right

**Headline says:** "Pancreatic Cancer Will Soon Be Second Deadliest"

**Science says:** By 2030, more people with pancreatic cancer will die of the disease than those with any other kind of cancer except lung. That's because it's become more common and is hard to detect and other cancers have become more treatable.

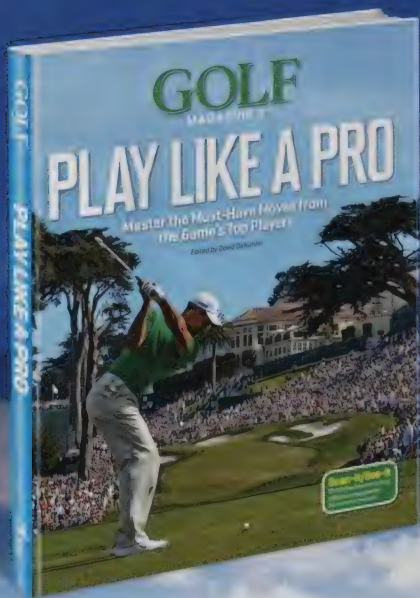
Jury's out

**Headline says:** "Airplanes Are Full of Dangerous Germs"

**Science says:** Scientists exposed airplane surfaces to *E. coli* and MRSA to see how long the germs could last and which surfaces were best at transmitting them. Their findings? Some lasted eight days, and nonporous surfaces passed them on most readily.

Wash your hands!

# THE GREATEST SWINGS IN THE GAME



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## Milestones



DIED

## Ann B. Davis America's favorite housekeeper

By Al-jen Poo

Ann B. Davis is best known for playing Alice, the beloved live-in housekeeper for the blended family of the hit TV show *The Brady Bunch*. Housekeeper by trade, Alice was also a problem solver, peacemaker, chef, girlfriend to Sam the butcher, best friend and (somewhat) reliable keeper of family secrets.

I know less about the real life of Ann, who died June 1 at 88. But I'm truly grateful for her portrayal of Alice, because it was real. She brought the experience and role of the domestic worker alive for a generation of American TV audiences. Alice was a fully developed and fantastically funny character, a testament to Ann's talent and investment in playing this particular role with humanity and integrity. She made us wonder, Did Alice have her own family? What did she do before working for the Bradys? We wanted more.

*The Brady Bunch* foreshadowed the changing

shape of American families. It helped us understand that nontraditional homes could be full of fun and caring and, most important, fully whole.

Blue uniform aside, Alice's role in particular foreshadowed the important part that domestic workers would come to play in our modern families. Today there are more women in the workplace than ever, more single-parent heads of households and more families with two income earners. With people living longer and the baby-boom generation reaching retirement age, exponentially more of us will need domestic workers to help us age in our homes and communities.

Thanks to Ann, through our love of Alice, we could begin to appreciate the people working inside our homes who are among the real heroines of this new day.

**Poo** is the director of the National Domestic Workers Alliance and a co-director of *Caring Across Generations*.

### Beyond Brady



**THE BOB CUMMINGS SHOW**  
She won two Emmys (in 1958 and 1959) for her portrayal of Schultz



**THE JOHN FORSYTHE SHOW**  
In the mid-1960s, she played a phys-ed teacher on this short-lived sitcom



**LOVE, AMERICAN STYLE**  
Davis appeared several times on the early-'70s anthology-style comedy show

### APPOINTED

Deputy Secretary of Veterans Affairs  
**Sloan Gibson** to the position of Interim VA Secretary, after the departure of General Eric Shinseki, who resigned amid a scandal over lengthy wait times for veterans' health care.

### DIED

Japanese-American activist **Yuri Kochiyama**, who was sent to an internment camp during World War II and later devoted her life to civil rights causes, at 93.

### HONORED

Pop singer **Rihanna**, with the annual Fashion Icon Award from the Council of Fashion Designers of America, for what presenter and *Vogue* editor Anna Wintour called a "jaw-dropping" sense of style.



### VIEWED

A whopping 2 billion times, the music video for "Gangnam Style" by South Korean rapper **Psy**, extending its own YouTube record.

### SCORED

Rugby's fastest-ever try—that's like a touchdown in American football—by Welsh player **Dafydd Howell**, 19; the feat was accomplished a mere seven seconds after play began at the sport's Junior World Championship.

### RESIGNED

High-profile Cambodian anti-sex-trafficking activist **Somaly Mam**, from her own foundation, after details of her personal backstory were called into question.

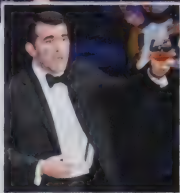


# TIME100

## Gala

On Tuesday, April 29, the TIME 100 Gala hit New York City's Jazz at Lincoln Center. More than 400 luminaries walked the red carpet — artists, entertainers, politicians, innovators, captains of industry and revolutionaries from around the globe. This annual gala celebrates the TIME 100 list: the most influential people in the world.

Thanks to the TIME 100 Gala Presenting Sponsors: Chivas Regal 25 and Citi.

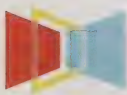


### CLOCKWISE FROM TOP

Honorees enjoy the Citi Lounge during the after party. Red carpet arrivals: the Chivas bartenders who mixed up Chivas Regal 25 specialty cocktails. All guests received complimentary 24-hour Citi Bike passes. Guests mingle in the Citi lounge during the cocktail hour. TIME Group Publisher, Jed Hartman, leads a special Chivas toast to the TIME 100 honorees.

CHIVAS REGAL  
AGED 25 YEARS

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## Jon Meacham

## The Winding Road to D-Day

FDR's patient diplomacy in 1942 and '43 made Operation Overlord possible in '44

IT WAS, WINSTON CHURCHILL NOTED AT the time, "a strange Christmas Eve." Only weeks after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the subsequent German declaration of war on the U.S., he crossed the Atlantic aboard H.M.S. *Duke of York* for conversations with Franklin D. Roosevelt. Eleanor Roosevelt was asked to lay in stocks of brandy, champagne and whiskey (Churchill brought his own cigars); the work at hand was to be all-consuming. "Almost the whole world is locked in deadly struggle," Churchill said at the lighting of the national Christmas tree, "and, with the most terrible weapons which science can devise, the nations advance upon each other." The issue before Churchill and FDR was the most fundamental of all: how best to wage a world war against the Axis powers.

During the discussions, British and U.S. officials affirmed the strategic primacy of defeating Germany. The other potential global foe, Japan, would be taken on only secondarily. With his industrial might and Continental base, Adolf Hitler was viewed as the predominant opponent whose defeat the Anglo-American alliance would come to see as the common cause.

ON THE 70TH ANNIVERSARY OF OPERATION Overlord, the amphibious assault on Nazi-occupied Europe, we understandably celebrate the Normandy landings as the central act of the 20th century; what Churchill called "the most difficult and complicated operation that has ever taken place" is one of the great hinges of history. Yet the road to the opening of the second front in northwestern Europe was by no means a simple one. The story of D-Day is as much about years of diplomatic skirmishing among Churchill, Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin as it is about the landings on the beaches where President Obama and other world leaders gathered. And in that convoluted tale lies a lesson in leadership, for FDR's patient maneuvering in 1941, '42 and '43 was that of a President at once constrained and determined as he sought the right answer in the calamitous times. What seems straightforward in retrospect was, in real time, highly improvisational—and at moments, dare we say it, Roosevelt led from behind.

As 1942 began, several key U.S. figures—notably Army Chief of Staff George Marshall and General Dwight Eisenhower—argued for a predictably Amer-

ican strategy. If the target was Germany first, they argued, then hit Germany first, hard and quickly. The fastest way to relieve the immense pressure on Stalin was to cross the English Channel in 1942. There was a problem, though: Churchill.

The Prime Minister was averse to a large-scale strike against Germany for at least two reasons. The first was biographical. As First Lord of the Admiralty during World War I, Churchill had presided over the disastrous Gallipoli strategy that killed 28,000 British soldiers in the ill-considered invasion of Turkey.

The experience crushed him. As scholars have long noted, the second reason was his tendency to prefer secondary operations on the periphery of Hitler's empire, in the hopes of weakening the enemy at less cost and—though this was and is much disputed—placing British troops in position to protect colonial and postwar interests.

Stalin, for his part, wanted a second front in Europe not today, not tomorrow, but yesterday. And so Roosevelt found himself in the midst of a push-and-pull between London and Moscow. Churchill carried the day for 1942 and '43, arguing for other operations and suggesting that there were not yet sufficient resources to mount a successful attack on the French coast. As much as FDR wanted to take the direct route across the Channel, he at first sided with Churchill against Stalin, approving a Mediterranean strategy.



President Roosevelt greets Oval Office visitors on D-Day, June 6, 1944

FOR ROOSEVELT THE HOUR OF DECISION CAME AT Tehran in November 1943. Stalin pressed and pressed for a cross-Channel operation. Churchill, while agreeing in principle, managed to raise a seemingly infinite number of reasons to delay. Stalin spoke starkly: Were his Western allies with him or not? Roosevelt then made his choice, insisting on Overlord and overruling Churchill. The industrial might of America had by now built a huge war machine; the men were trained; and in that moment in the Tehran autumn, the new world of competing superpowers—with Britain in a subsidiary role—came into being.

Roosevelt was right to make the call he made at Tehran, which led to Overlord in June 1944. Churchill was also right early on in resisting a hasty cross-Channel operation. "It is fun to be in the same decade with you," Roosevelt once told Churchill. It may have been fun, but for the generations that followed it was far greater than that—it was providential. ■

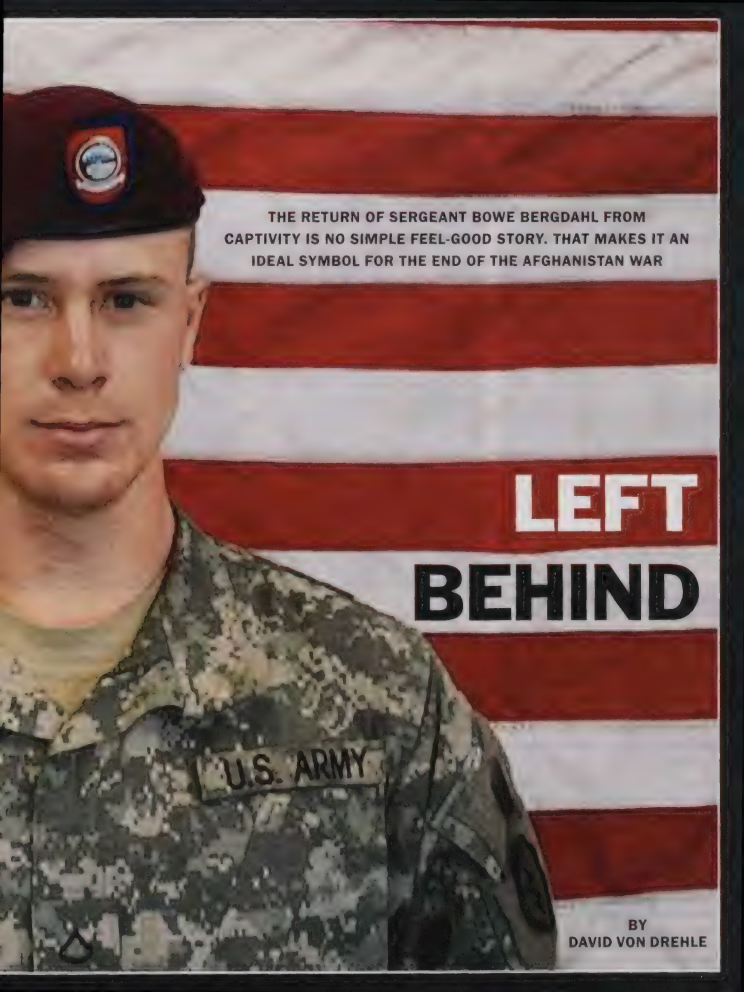
NATION

**NO**

**SOLDIER**

BERGDAHL





THE RETURN OF SERGEANT BOWE BERGDAHL FROM CAPTIVITY IS NO SIMPLE FEEL-GOOD STORY. THAT MAKES IT AN IDEAL SYMBOL FOR THE END OF THE AFGHANISTAN WAR

# LEFT BEHIND

BY  
DAVID VON DREHLE

# IF EVERY SOLDIER WERE BRAVE IN BATTLE, WE WOULDN'T NEED A WORD FOR VALOR.

Yet generals since the time of Saul have confronted the problem of breakdown and desertion. The eminent military historian John Keegan, in his masterpiece *The Face of Battle*, quoted U.S. military authorities who concluded after World War II that "there is no such thing as 'getting used to combat' ... Psychiatric casualties are as inevitable as gunshot and shrapnel wounds." Some soldiers deal with the pressure by running away—or worse, by switching sides. Which is why Stalin kept a significant share of his guns pointed at the rear of his own army.

When President Obama stepped into the Rose Garden on May 31 to announce a deal to free the only captive U.S. soldier in the Afghanistan war, he evidently was worried that Americans couldn't handle this truth. Flanked by the parents of Sergeant Bowe Bergdahl, the President struck a victorious tone. He spoke of parental love and a nation's duty and the loyalty of the freed soldier's comrades. But he gave no hint that Bergdahl's capture was the source of enormous anger and resentment among some of those comrades, who feel that he abandoned them when he walked away from his post one summer night in 2009. The anger at Bergdahl—and at the President—only deepened the next day, when National Security Adviser Susan Rice added another coat of whitewash. Bergdahl, Rice declared, "served the United States with honor and distinction."

Maybe it was inevitable that even this familiar end-of-war set piece, the tearful return of the last prisoner, would sour, given the division and suspicion sown at home by the long wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. But the President made matters worse by rushing the final arrangements to trade five Taliban leaders for Bergdahl past a reluctant military and a skeptical Congress. Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein of California, chairman of the Intelligence Committee, complained of being left in the dark, while a U.S. military source told TIME that the decision boiled down to "suck it up and salute."

Obama further erred by trying to spin a feel-good story from a messy set of facts.

After a dismal week of bad news, including the resignation of Veterans Affairs Secretary Eric Shinseki, the White House leaped at the chance to show the depth of the President's commitment to Americans in uniform. Within days, the Rose Garden fairy tale had been shredded by indignant soldiers and Obama's political foes. Critics demanded to know how many Americans were killed five years ago while searching for Bergdahl and how much havoc the Taliban Five might wreak in the future, should they make their way back into action. The U.S. may vow to leave no soldier behind, but what is a reasonable risk to run or price to pay for that retrieval, and should the calculation change if the soldier is judged to deserve not a parade but a trial?

"This is what happens at the end of wars," Obama said defensively as the anger and confusion boiled over. Arrangements must be made to tie up each violent drama with a bow, all the dead buried and all the living restored to their homes. "That was true for George Washington, that was true for Abraham Lincoln, that was true for FDR. That's been true of every combat situation," the President said. "At some point, you make sure that you try to get your folks back." He might better have said that the Bergdahl story shows why wars continue to gnaw and grind long after the end is officially pronounced. Too much is smashed and bloodied to be wrapped up neatly. People must live, sometimes in turmoil, sometimes for centuries, with loose ends.

## The Capture

ONE OF THOSE UNFINISHED STRANDS IS Bergdahl himself. In the Rose Garden, the President spoke of reunion and renewal for the long-lost soldier—but Bergdahl's critics demanded a reckoning and retribution. Under pressure, Secretary of the Army John McHugh promised a "comprehensive, coordinated effort" to investigate Bergdahl's strange battlefield history. Depending on the details, the facts of the case might support a charge of desertion—one of the most serious crimes a soldier can commit.

The strapping son of homeschooling



parents in Idaho's glorious Sun Valley, Bowe Bergdahl loved motorcycles and sailboats as a teen. But neither seemed to be taking him anywhere. So he tried and failed to join the French Foreign Legion before enlisting in the U.S. Army—a sequence of events suggesting that he was looking for an adventure more than a war.

But war is what he got. In March 2009, Bergdahl's 25-member platoon found itself in southeastern Afghanistan, not far from the border with Pakistan, at a small combat outpost called Mest-Malak. It was crude living, little more than a storage shack surrounded by armored vehicles in a protective cluster. Bergdahl carried a machine gun on patrol, spent his spare time studying local languages and wondered aloud whether it was possible to reach China by crossing the distant mountains. It seemed, his father told military investigators, that the young soldier was "psychologically isolated." Although he had months of deployment ahead of him, he shipped much of his gear home.



**Coming home** Bergdahl, far left, with his regiment in 2009. Above, images from a video shot by the Taliban show his handover near the Pakistan border on June 1. The White House agreed to free five militants held at Guantánamo Bay in exchange for Bergdahl's release

He quickly grew cynical about his mission. "These people need help, yet what they get is the most conceited country in the world telling them that they are nothing and that they are stupid, that they have no idea how to live," he wrote in an email to his parents, according to a 2012 profile in *Rolling Stone*. Greg Leatherman, Bergdahl's former squad leader, tells *TIME* that Bergdahl "was a loner, he didn't like to share much with anyone. He read the Koran quite a bit, which I respected. I saw it as him trying to be a better soldier, learning more about the people we were going to work with. Turns out he was preparing."

Sometime after midnight on June 30, Bergdahl made a neat pile of his armor, along with a note of farewell, then disappeared. He left his firearm behind, preferring to carry only water, a knife, a camera and his compass. More than 24 hours later, U.S. intelligence intercepted Taliban radio calls indicating that they had captured an American soldier.

The next part of the story was recounted by angry soldiers in magazines, on television and in Facebook posts in the wake of Bergdahl's release. (In some cases, their accounts were facilitated by Republican political operatives eager to turn up the heat on Obama.) Each version brought its own details, but a clear picture emerged of the Army in Afghanistan urgently redirected to the task of finding the runaway soldier.

"His disappearance translated into daily search missions across the entire

Afghanistan theater of operations," wrote Nathan Bradley Bethea, an infantry officer involved in the search, in a storm-stirring article for the *Daily Beast*. Bethea and others claimed that these missions led directly to six combat deaths, a number that could not be confirmed by the Pentagon. In other interviews, Sergeant Evan Buetow, the team leader at the outpost on the night he slipped away, leveled other damning charges. He recounted an intercepted radio message indicating that Bergdahl may have defected to the Taliban.

Military officials eventually concluded that Bergdahl—after leaving his post for unexplained reasons—fell into the hands of the Afghan Taliban, who later turned him over to the Haqqani network. This long-established Islamist insurgent group wages war in Afghanistan from bases in the tribal frontier of northern Pakistan, and the Army believed that Bergdahl was probably held at a Pakistani site. Reports of his years in captivity paint a confusing picture. Some

**The Bergdahl story shows why wars continue to gnaw and grind long after the end is officially pronounced**

suggest he got along well with his captors; others say he tried to escape in 2010 and from then on was shackled at night.

"POWs often feel a complex mixture of emotions," says former Army colonel Elspeth Ritchie, who was the service's top psychiatrist before retiring in 2010. "Depending on circumstances, they may feel relief, guilt, shame and elation." All those emotions, and more, showed in videos released over the years by Bergdahl's keepers. In one, he twined his fingers as if in prayer and begged for freedom. Bergdahl's father Robert was so determined to understand and communicate with his son's captors that he grew a long, frizzy beard in the style of devout Muslims and learned to speak Pashto—prompting a bemused smile from Obama at the White House when he addressed a few words of the Afghan language to his son. (White House officials were less amused by a May 28 tweet at a Taliban spokesman—since deleted—in which Bob Bergdahl said he was "working to free all Guantánamo prisoners," adding, "God will repay for the death of every Afghan child.")

But what was it that moved Bergdahl's freedom from back burner to urgent priority in recent weeks? The Administration suggested some unspecified health emergency, and the *Wall Street Journal* reported that a video made last December showed an "alarming" deterioration in Bergdahl's condition. But as of Wednesday, the military had released no details from the hospital where the soldier was taken. Whatever triggered the response, the White House was already working outside established procedures for releasing detainees from the prison at Guantánamo Bay.

## The Calculation

NEARLY SIX YEARS AFTER HE WAS SWEEPED into office with a promise to close the Guantánamo jail, Obama is haunted by this most prominent of loose ends. "I will continue to push to close Gitmo," the President declared in his recent commencement address at West Point. "Because American values and legal traditions do not permit the indefinite detention of people beyond our borders."

As of January, 82 detainees have been released by the Obama Administration, according to the latest report to Congress by the Office of the Director of National Intelligence. But the process of evaluating the threat posed by each detainee has steadily winnowed the Guantánamo population to the hardest cases. Of these, the Taliban Five "are clearly bad dudes,"

says a source familiar with the debate over their release.

Abdul Haq Wasiq, the Taliban's Deputy Minister of Intelligence at the time of his capture, had close ties to al-Qaeda and allegedly played a role in the mass killings and torture that followed the Taliban's takeover of Afghanistan in the late 1990s. Mullah Norullah Noori and Mullah Mohammad Fazl are wanted by the U.N. for war crimes stemming from the killing of thousands of Shi'ite Muslims in Afghanistan. Mullah Khairullah Khairkhwa is a suspected opium trafficker linked to the al-Qaeda training base where some of the 9/11 hijackers were drilled, while Mohammad Nabi Omari reportedly served as a conduit for information among various terrorist groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

For years, Bergdahl's captors had demanded the release of the Taliban Five, and

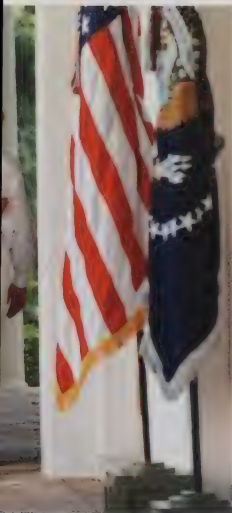
the topic was a recurrent subject of debate in the Administration. Figures in the White House and the State Department favored the trade as a confidence-building step toward a peace deal with the Taliban. But opponents in the military and the intelligence agencies had the benefit of secret and top-secret intelligence showing that the five men pose a continuing threat, officials familiar with the discussions tell *TIME*. Gradually, the pro-swap faction gained ground, pressing the opponents for proof of the danger. "It was a heavy burden" after so many years in captivity, says the source familiar with the increasingly contentious debate.

In the end, the swap was ushered into public view wearing a fig leaf provided by the Emir of Qatar, who promised to keep an eye on the freed detainees during their yearlong probation in his country. During that time, they will also be under



**Grateful parents** President Obama with Jani and Robert Bergdahl at the White House on the day he announced that their son would be coming home





## The Bergdahl swap puts a floodlight on the unresolved issue of the nearly 150 men still detained at Guantánamo

Americans" as trade bait to free other detainees. It's not an imaginary risk. In Israel, with its long history of lopsided prisoner exchanges, Palestinian plots to kidnap soldiers are a constant nuisance. Yet the country continues to make the trades as a way of affirming the high value the nation places on its own citizens.

National Security Council spokesman Ben Rhodes maintained that there was no dissent from the decision to take swift action, but that's only because the White House wasn't listening. Obama has broad authority under Article II of the U.S. Constitution to order prisoner exchanges as Commander in Chief of America's armed forces. Despite a law requiring 30 days' notice to Congress before the release of Guantánamo prisoners—and past promises not to move without consultation—leaders in the House of Representatives, including Speaker John Boehner, were told nothing. Senate majority leader Harry Reid was informed only after the decision was made. "This was out of the norm," one official familiar with the debate over releasing the men told TIME. "There was never the conversation."

With some Republicans calling for hearings on the matter, the Bergdahl swap is likely to become a sore point in the autumn elections. And it puts a floodlight on the unresolved—unresolvable?—issue of the nearly 150 men still detained at Guantánamo.

### The Challenge

THE LOOSEST END OF ALL WAS HIDDEN IN plain sight among the Administration's misleading pronouncements: What lies in store for Afghanistan and its neighbors after the U.S. departs? Though Obama recently announced plans to keep nearly 10,000 troops in place for now, gradually drawing the number down through 2016, the Bergdahl deal bore the unmistakable air of a nation washing its hands. After a year in Qatar, the Taliban Five will be free to return to the scene of past outrages—the

soccer-stadium executions, the oppression of Afghan schoolgirls, the destruction of ancient artworks—and while the President pledged to defend the U.S. against them, he said nothing of defending the Afghans.

In this, Obama is reflecting the will of the American people, who have made themselves clear in surveys and at the ballot box. The war in Afghanistan must come to an end—for Americans if not for Afghans. The peace of Kabul will rest on the ability of Afghan factions to coexist, which, given the long history of this troubled land, there is little reason to hope for.

But the decision to try to slip these loose ends past an unnoticing public, borne on a smile and a fable, was a blunder in any event. It is said that soldiers never forget. They don't forget their promise to leave no comrade behind. In the words of former soldier Alex Horton, "There's not a place in the world I wouldn't go to bring back the men who served with me. That was true for combat, and it will be true for the rest of my life." At the same time, they don't forget the difference between those who stand and those who run, and they are very particular about the language of heroism. "This is just so grotesque," argues retired Army officer and author Ralph Peters. "Americans can't name a single Medal of Honor recipient, but everybody knows the name of a reputed deserter. The big mistake was for the President and his gang to present Bergdahl as a hero."

The Obama Administration is not the first to look at the American people and think, in the words of Jack Nicholson in *A Few Good Men*, "You can't handle the truth!" But it is the first to govern entirely in the age of nearly limitless communication. After Edward Snowden, after WikiLeaks, it should be clear that anything known inside the White House stands a good chance of becoming known to everyone. A President who promised unprecedented transparency must understand that a window shows the bad weather along with the good.

And the inescapable truth is that the U.S.'s departure from Afghanistan will not bring an end to the storms of that region, nor shield us from their effects. In its ugly complexity, the story of Bowe Bergdahl—the genuine story, not the bowdlerized version—is one symbol of that truth. Can we handle that? There's really no alternative. —WITH REPORTING BY MASSIMO CALABRESI, MICHAEL CROWLEY, ZEKE MILLER, JAY NEWTON-SMALL AND MARK THOMPSON/WASHINGTON AND KARL VICK/TEL AVIV ■

the watchful gaze of the CIA station chief in Qatar. As Obama put it during a visit to Poland as the controversy burgeoned, the release "was conditioned on the Qatari's keeping eyes on them and creating a structure in which we can monitor their activities." He continued, "I wouldn't be doing it if I thought that it was contrary to American national security. And we have confidence that we will be in a position to go after them if, in fact, they are engaging in activities that threaten our defenses."

Some Republicans charged that the prisoner exchange itself threatens Americans around the world. Representative Howard McKeon of California and Oklahoma Senator James Inhofe, the senior Republicans on the Congressional Armed Services Committees, warned in a joint statement that "our terrorist adversaries now have a strong incentive to capture

IN THE ARENA

# The Myth of Inevitability

## Nothing is certain in 2016

By Joe Klein

WE HAVE REACHED, BELIEVE IT OR NOT, THE FIRST CRUCIAL moment in the 2016 presidential campaign. Hillary Clinton has written a book. It will be launched, with Vesuvian hoopla, on June 10. Herschedule will be incredible for the weeks thereafter—an hour interview with ABC's Diane Sawyer, for starters; *Good Morning America* the next morning; a town meeting with CNN's Christiane Amanpour. There will be joint appearances with Bill and Chelsea. And attention, Costco shoppers! Hillary Clinton will be signing copies of *Hard Choices* at Costco's Arlington, Va., store on Saturday, June 14.

We are sure to be smothered by Hillary (OF HILLARY!, as an old campaign button had it) well past the summer solstice. There will be reviews and nonstop attempts to tease policy and controversy from the substance of the book, which concerns her time as Secretary of State. Her account of the Benghazi controversy has already been leaked. In it, she says she was "ultimately responsible" for the insufficient security at the consulate there, even though it was well below her pay grade. Happily, she fights back against the bizarre Republican campaign to find a scandal amid the tragedy. This is called getting out in front of the story, a common political strategy. *Hard Choices* is, like almost everything else Clinton, a campaign. How it is promoted and received will say a lot about the campaign to come, if it is to come.

As always, there will be a festering low road of speculation about Clinton herself, her health, her hair, her husband. And as always, a squalid tabloid underbuzz: Did she ask Chelsea to become pregnant to give her campaign a soft, grandmotherly tinge? Will new Whitewater papers reveal that the real estate deal was really a conspiracy to sell heroin? Monica Lewinsky has already reappeared and disappeared, coming out of seclusion to tell her

Photograph by Jacquelyn Martin





# The Road to The White House Is Littered With Surprises



**1968  
GEORGE ROMNEY**  
The governor of Michigan's campaign collapsed after he blamed his support for the Vietnam War on military "brainwashing."



**1972  
ED MUSKIE**  
The presumed Democratic front runner fell apart in New Hampshire, where he appeared to tear up while defending his wife



**1976  
HENRY "SCOOP" JACKSON**  
The Washington Senator won several key primaries, but a series of campaign blunders helped pave Jimmy Carter's path to the Democratic nomination



story for the umpteenth time. The Clintons have long held an unprecedented primacy in academic journals and supermarket tabloids. That's why we can't take our eyes off them. They have big thoughts; they are creative policymakers who balance budgets; they care about the average guy, his widow and orphan. And yet their private world often seems laced with circus-sideshow overreach, both purposeful and accidental: Bill Clinton abandoned McDonald's to become a vegan. Hillary's top aide, Huma Abedin, married the tweeting exhibitionist Anthony Weiner.

Inevitably, there will be political speculation. Does this book mean she is running? Does her book tour prove that she "takes all the oxygen" out of the Democratic race? Is she "inevitable"? Is the Benghazi chapter "enough" to quiet the controversy? Will she learn to love the media—and will the media stop being so trashball in its Clinton coverage?

As a veteran Clinton watcher, I approach the coming spectacle with a combination of obsession, exhaustion, dread and exhilaration. This is going to be horrible fun—and crucial, as the Clintons always are. If she runs.

FOR THE SAKE OF MAGAZINE SALES, LET'S say she's running. She's got it locked, right? She's the Democratic nominee at the very least, right? Ask any Republican and they'll tell you she's a cinch. They've already started their general-election campaign against her. Karl Rove is speculating that the fall she took at the end of her time as Secretary of State caused traumatic brain injury. Others fantasize that she conspired to have Lewinsky tell her story now, to get it out of the way—as if anything

could. And congressional Republicans have dragged Benghazi back into public view, with stacked hearings that will amount, no doubt, to a hill of beans. Most Democrats think that she'll not only waltz to the nomination but also crush anyone the Republicans put up, except maybe Jeb Bush—and hasn't the Bush family saga become a moldy oldie over the decades?

But wait a minute. Aren't the Clintons approaching their sell-by date too? Aren't we about to become tired of their personal and policy baggage and retinue of over-caffeinated too-loyal aides spewing talking points on cable news? It can and will also be argued that the Clintons are out of touch with millennials and their hand-held virtual society, out of touch with the growing populism of the Democratic Party, too closely aligned with Wall Street and untrammelled free trade, too hawkish, too closely aligned with an unpopular incumbent President. (Of course, Obama could easily rebound.) It can and will be argued, as always, that Hillary is stiff, programmed, overcautious. Exhibit A: her book tour schedule.

It is possible, maybe even probable, that all these arguments will have the same effect on the Clinton juggernaut as a flea on a rhinoceros. Clinton is said to be the best-prepared politician to run for President in our lifetime, and that is probably true. She knows the issues, foreign and domestic; no one will outwork her. She has the potential to run the table when it comes to big donors and endorsements. She has a presidential temperament—prudent, patient and tough. She is both funny and wise: ask anyone, Republican or Democrat, who has ever sat in a policy meeting with her. She started as a lousy stump politician

but became a real trouper in the crucible of the 2008 primary campaign against Obama, especially in Pennsylvania, where she started hanging out in bars and bowling alleys and taught white working-class males that she was no quitter. Indeed, the lessons she learned in the 2008 primaries may be her quiet competitive advantage in 2016. Finally, she is a woman—an aspect of her candidacy that was foolishly underplayed by her advisers in 2008. As such, she lives in history.

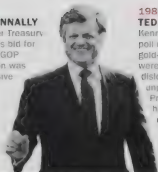
Some presidential campaigns are about inevitability. Others are about energy. The best have both, but it's rare: inevitability tends to crush energy. It makes candidates cautious. In 2000, George W. Bush raised a ton of money and secured a ton of endorsements. He was skating toward the nomination, according to the polls. "It's amazing how close we came to losing," says Matthew Dowd, who worked for Bush. "We were hanging on by our fingernails after McCain beat us by 18 points in New Hampshire, but McCain made some mistakes in South Carolina," and Bush turned vicious, "and we were lucky to win." Let's not forget: an inevitable candidate named Hillary Clinton was blindsided by Barack Obama's energy in 2008.

Obama may be her greatest challenge in 2016 as well. It's been reported that she has scrubbed *Hard Choices* for any negative references to the President. But any candidate following a two-term President has to figure out a "kinder, gentler" way to distinguish herself from her predecessor. People always want a change, a fact Al Gore and John McCain found out the hard way. It will be trickier if Obama remains unpopular. Inevitability is reality's first casualty. If Obama makes a big mistake



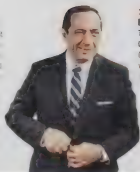
**1980  
JOHN CONNALLY**

The former Treasury Secretary's bid for the 1980 GOP nomination was an expensive bust



**1980  
TED KENNEDY**

Kennedy's soaring poll numbers and gold-plated name weren't enough to dislodge even an unpopular President from his party's nomination



**1992  
MARIO CUOMO**

The New York Governor and liberal darling flirted with a campaign but chose not to run, opening the Democratic field for Bill Clinton.



**2008  
HILLARY CLINTON**

The New York Senator's strident, titled campaign was eclipsed by Barack Obama's star power. Will she give the White House another try?

overseas or the economy flops, Clinton's first job will be to say what she'd do differently, without offending the Democratic base who'll remain loyal to the President no matter what.

Even if Obama successfully navigates his last two years in office, Clinton is likely to face more than one energy candidate in 2016. Former Montana governor Brian Schweitzer, profiled by Michael Scherer on page 36, is as entertaining as a presidential candidate should be allowed to be, and substantive too. Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren has a new book out—aha! (perhaps)—and is winning the Democratic left at their partisan powwows. And former Virginia Senator Jim Webb—who also has a new book out, aha!—has not ruled out a presidential campaign. All three would challenge Clinton from the populist left, a force that is growing noisier within the party, if not more populous. The moderate governors, like New York's Andrew Cuomo and Maryland's Martin O'Malley, probably won't run if Clinton does.

Any of the three populists could run an exciting and perhaps even successful campaign against Clinton. She has real vulnerabilities and, yes, hard choices to make on policies she is assumed to have inherited from her husband, especially regarding the primacy of Wall Street and free trade. Bill Clinton essentially deregulated Wall Street while he was President—repealing the Glass-Steagall laws and refusing to regulate the exotic derivatives that helped cause the stock-market crash of 2008. Will Hillary Clinton move away from those positions? Is she willing to walk away from the egregious buckraking and speech-making she and her husband have done

with the global megarich in the service of the Clinton Global Initiative? "If not, she's red meat in this new age of economic populism," says David "Mudcat" Saunders, a Democratic consultant who has been close to Jim Webb in the past.

I recently asked Webb what he saw when he looked at America a year after he left the Senate. "Groundhog Day," he said. Nothing had changed. In his book *I Heard My Country Calling*, Webb writes about a country "governed by a club of insiders who manipulate public opinion in order to serve the interests of hidden elites who hold the reins of power." That could be a call to arms for Democratic populists and Tea Partiers alike. It is a bit over the top—hidden elites?—but it is a voice to be reckoned with in a ticked-off America.

There is also a bubbling up of what the historian Fred Siegel calls gentry liberals, the old alliance of guilt-ridden limousine riders and (mostly African-American) minority groups who are itchy to file grievances again after 50 years of remarkable progress. A 2003 Brookings Institution study showed that if you graduate from high school, wait until marriage to have no more than two babies and have a job (any job, and there are plenty out there), the chances of your living in poverty are 3.7%. Those sorts of stats—and there are plenty of others like them—are downplayed by a new generation of African-American activists and by mayors like New York City's Bill de Blasio, who has lifted some of the work requirements imposed by Bill Clinton for people on welfare. The left argues that times have changed. The economy has changed. It's harder to get a job. Will Clinton modify her long-held positions

on welfare and the importance of two-parent families?

Then there is her foreign policy. Robert Gates' fabulously candid memoir about his time as Secretary of Defense has some juicy tidbits—like the fact that Clinton stood to his right on the Afghan surge in 2009. He favored adding 30,000 more troops; Clinton and General Stan McChrystal favored 40,000. Her support of the war in Iraq, except for the 2007 surge there, is also on the record—but Gates has her admitting that her opposition to the surge was "political."

THAT IS PROBABLY THE ULTIMATE ARGUMENT against Clinton. She can be prohibitively "political" and far more cautious than she needs to be. The trouble is, presidential campaigns can't be managed like book tours. They tend to be overwhelmed by events and trivialities. There is a constant gotcha contest with the press. In a recent *Politico* article about Clinton and the press, one of her advisers is quoted: "Look, she hates you. Period. That is not going to change." To make things worse, her top communications adviser, Phillippe Reines, argued that Clinton didn't really hate the press. She brought bagels to the back of the bus. But bringing bagels to the back of the bus is an embarrassingly transparent ploy. Bringing candor to the back of the bus might be a little more successful. I've seen her candor more than once, but always off the record. That will have to change. If Hillary Clinton hopes to succeed, she's going to have to drop the veil—spontaneously, quite possibly in a crucial moment, like a debate—and trust the public to accept who she really is. Absent that, there is no such thing as inevitability. ■

# Not So Fast, Hillary An unlikely challenger mulls a run from out West

By Michael Scherer/Anaconda

IF YOU WANT TO GET FORMER MONTANA governor Brian Schweitzer talking, take him out riding a paint horse named Yukon up the foothills of the state's Anaconda Range, through lodgepole forests to a place so wide open and silent you can see for 30 miles and hear the next horse breathe at 20 paces. This is where he was raised, nearly two miles above sea level, and where he still lives, over dirt packed with silver, copper and sapphire, and grass that feeds some of the priciest purebred stock in the world.

If Schweitzer runs for President in 2016, as he has been hinting in recent months, this is the country he will be angling to leave behind for an Oval Office literally built on a swamp. That's a problem Hillary Clinton, Joe Biden and the rest need not fret over. "If I win, I have the most to lose," he says, turning his speckled horse to take in the view, with the snow-capped Pintlers to the south and the Bitterroot Range in the west. "It would ruin my life."

Maybe so, but Schweitzer can't seem to help himself. Even before he left the stables, he was spinning tales meant to impress a reporter he'd invited West to prod at his presidential ambitions. He told

about the time a friend of his father "may or may not" have hidden an off-season elk carcass from the game warden in his family grain bin. And about the bar in a town named Monarch where he was first served alcohol at 15: "It turns out they just didn't care." And about his wife Nancy, who changed a blown-out tire while he waited inside the same watering hole: "I just thought, Hell, I'll keep her, and now it's been 32 years."

Schweitzer left the governor's office 17 months ago, but there's hardly an issue on which he lacks an opinion—and hardly an opinion he is not eager to share. He thinks Chris Christie's chances are overblown, speaks highly of Rand Paul's fury over domestic data collection by the NSA and offers no sanctuary for his own party. "Democrats have a way of getting the rope tied around their legs," he says. "There is enough dumbassery to go around."

The last part is what makes Schweitzer stand out at the moment, and not just for the salty language. Democrats are, on the whole, a clan united, with a re-elected President, a generational demographic tailwind, and a Republican Party consumed by civil strife. They also have a

designated heir apparent in Hillary Clinton, who has the support of nearly 7 in 10 Democrats for the 2016 nomination, according to recent polls. Her clout is such that Maryland Governor Martin O'Malley got her O.K. before embarking on his own prospective 2016 campaign.

Schweitzer is different, a showman populist from a state where folks could legally drink beer while driving until 2005. He describes both Clinton and Obama as compromised creatures of Washington, unnecessarily beholden to big-money politics and tarnished by side deals. "Do you think he has some core values?" Schweitzer will ask about Obama, whom he blames for caving to the pharmaceutical and insurance lobbies during the drafting of health care reform. "You can't be a candidate that shakes down more money on Wall Street than anybody since, I don't know, Woodrow Wilson and be a populist," he says of Clinton, who recently has been giving six-figure speeches for clients like Goldman Sachs. "You can't be the one

**Mountain man** Former Montana governor Schweitzer isn't shy about criticizing Obama or Clinton



to say we're going to focus on rebuilding America if you voted to go to the Iraq War."

That's the sound of someone picking a fight, and it comes as the party wrestles with the wisdom of going the coronation route in 2016. Al Gore was the last Democrat to run in a general election without losing a primary, and he proved himself a greener campaigner than George W. Bush when he got to the big show. It's been eight years since Clinton endured the brutal hazing of a primary; she undoubtedly made Obama stronger for it.

And so Schweitzer is testing the waters, even as he continues to build a separate career. He's the chairman of a palladium-mining company, he plans to officiate at the wedding of the woman who owns his local hardware store and he has been fixing up and flipping ranch land all around Montana. But he has also been writing a prospective campaign book, which he says "may or may not" be published next year, and he has signed a contract with MSNBC that will give him national exposure. He says he's been talking with his family, including three grown children and five siblings, about throwing his hat in the ring.

The question may be less whether Schweitzer needs the Democratic Party than whether the Democratic Party needs someone like Schweitzer, a lefty-libertarian soil scientist with a résumé built for the early-primary and caucus states. He would not bring a national organization or many billionaire donors to the race, but he could easily spark a conversation about whether the Democratic Party has become too comfortable with its success. "No knock on Hillary, and you are not going to get that out of me," Schweitzer says atop Yukon, before describing one of her potential vulnerabilities in a Republican attack. "Elections are about the future. Anytime they can make an election about the past, they are going to win."

#### "I Have a Lot of Guns"

A FEW YEARS BEFORE LEAVING THE GOVERNOR'S office, Schweitzer built himself a new home on a dammed lake near Butte. Few rooms were given as much attention as his basement bathroom, across from the pool table and the well-stocked bar. It has both a toilet and a urinal, and the walls, hung with trophies from Schweitzer's life,



come as close as anything to a self-portrait.

There are pictures of him posing with Obama, with the liberal troubadours Willie Nelson and John Mellencamp and with Shimon Peres, the President of Israel. There is a sketch of a naked cowboy opening his trench coat to flash a herd of cattle, with the caption, "Isn't it great knowing at your age you can still draw a crowd?" Then comes the famous series of photos of Senator Lyndon Baines Johnson in 1957, towering over and poking at Senator Theodore Green of tiny Rhode Island. "That's how a chief executive gets things done," Schweitzer says, pointing away.

When Schweitzer first burst onto the national Democratic scene, the talk in the party was that it needed some testosterone. The swaggering Bush had just

#### Midday brews at the 7 Gables

Schweitzer takes the temperature of locals, including Dan Calnan, left, at a bar on Georgetown Lake

HE DIDN'T JUST VETO REPUBLICAN BILLS RESTRICTING WOMEN'S ACCESS TO ABORTION; HE REJECTED THEM WITH A BRANDING IRON





coasted to re-election in 2004 on tough-guy, with-us-or-against-us talk. National Democrats felt like they'd been made victims of a clever Frenchification campaign by Karl Rove, and out West, Schweitzer, standing several inches over six feet, with sideburns down to his earlobes, had just won the top job in Helena.

Schweitzer bused seniors across the Canadian border to buy cheaper prescription drugs, shot skeet with a 12-gauge in his campaign ads and was so mad about the war in Iraq that he refused to tell parents of soldiers who died there that their child's sacrifice was not in vain. "I couldn't say that because I didn't believe it," he says. As governor over two terms, he ran growing surpluses even throughout the Great Recession without raising

a tax or fee, largely by cutting costs. He didn't just veto Republican bills that tried to restrict women's access to abortion; he rejected them with a branding iron shaped into the word VETO while wearing blue jeans held up with a belt buckle nearly the size of a salad plate.

His theatrics won him attention and got him elected to head the Democratic Governors Association, but in the meantime, his party shifted. Democrats took back Congress in 2006 and then the White House in 2008 not by making inroads with libertarian whites of the Mountain West but by turning out the next generation of younger, more diverse voters in the cities and suburbs of the big swing states. And rather than follow Schweitzer's populist prescriptions, the new Democrats cut deals with all sorts of industries in Washington to get stuff done.

A gulf grew between Schweitzer and his party's leaders. In 2009, Obama came through Montana on his way to a family vacation, just as he was trying to negotiate health care reform with Republicans. Schweitzer introduced his President at a rally by calling for the public option and praising the Canadian health system, all of it off message. His relationship with Montana's Democratic Senator Max Baucus, who was then drafting the bill, went from rough to hostile. Schweitzer says Obama asked him to turn down the volume.

Then in 2013, when Baucus announced he would retire, Democrats scrambled to recruit Schweitzer to run for the seat, knowing he had a great shot at winning. Schweitzer explored the possibility, calling West Virginia Senator Joe Manchin, another former governor, to ask if he liked the shift to legislative work. "I hate it," said Manchin, who was having a rough day and jokes often with Schweitzer. "You are going to shoot somebody if you come back here, Brian." Schweitzer smiles telling the story months later. "I said, 'Don't say that. You know I have a lot of guns.'"

Schweitzer passed on the opportunity and began to mull a presidential campaign. "He always said, 'Fishing in the morning and whiskey in the afternoon,'" Evan Barrett, a longtime adviser, says of the governor's retirement plans. "Now it's fishing in the morning and phone calls in the afternoon."

## Rough and Ready

SCHWEITZER MAY NEVER FIT INTO THE party that Barack built. He called Senator John McCain "Grumps" and boasted about his efforts to encourage Montana girls to study engineering as a "chicks in science" program. His opposition to most kinds of gun control and his past support for clean coal could hurt him, even if he supports increased background checks and the new Obama carbon regulations.

Still, he seems to have planned out how he might run. "Maybe I need to remind you, I can talk to the people of Iowa. They can listen to a lawyer—or whatever number of lawyers there are—or they can listen to an agricultural scientist. You tell me which they would want to hear." In New Hampshire, he would boast of his efforts to reject Bush's plan to institute a national ID card. To woo South Carolina's Democrats, he would note the efforts he made to promote Native Americans in his administration and increase statewide diversity education. Is it enough? Hard to figure. "He is an excellent politician," says Jon Selib, a former chief of staff to Baucus. "But the fact that Brian is against Obamacare, is against gun control and is pro-coal makes it very hard for me to see how he would win the Democratic primary."

Across the lake from Schweitzer's house is the 7 Gables, a bar with a snowmobile lot out front and a well-appointed cast of characters nursing their cans inside, from a wrinkled gold miner to the wife of a militia leader. Fox News plays on the tube, and Schweitzer is welcomed like royalty. If the primary were held here, he would win walking away. But even here, the obstacles pop up. "I would have a hard time if you run against Hillary," says Dan Calnan, one of the patrons, when Schweitzer ambles in. "But I would like to vote for you."

Schweitzer doesn't miss a beat. He has been practicing his lines for months. He leans over Calnan's face, just like LBJ over Green, a pint in hand. "Once you have been in Washington for five years, or 25 years..." he begins, before describing the corrupting effects of campaign cash and lobbyists and the need for an outsider to redirect the country. A full minute passes before Calnan can get a word in edgewise.

Lowans be warned. Brian Schweitzer is getting ready. ■

ENVIRONMENT

THE

# CRI

CLEAN POWER WAS ON THE RISE IN THE U.S. EVEN BEFORE PRESIDENT OBAMA'S

Energy field Sunlight reflecting  
mirrors at the Ivanpah solar  
plant in the Mojave Desert

Photograph by Jamey Shillineau

An aerial photograph of a vast solar farm, with rows of solar panels stretching across a landscape. A large, semi-transparent green word 'CLEAN' is superimposed over the left and center of the image. The letters are thick and blocky. The background is a high-contrast, black and white checkered pattern, likely a close-up of the solar panels themselves.

# CLEAN

CARBON RULES AIMED TO ACCELERATE THE TREND BY MICHAEL GRUNWALD

## REVOLUTION

K

EVIN SMITH HAS SPENT HIS career building power plants, but the billion-dollar Crescent Dunes complex he's completing in the high desert halfway between Las Vegas and Reno, Nev., is no ordinary power plant. "This is the cold tank," Smith says, pointing at a massive steel silo that will hold 70 million lb. of 550°F molten salt. "Not really cold," he blandly observes.

It's a comparative thing. Crescent Dunes is a solar thermal plant, powered by 360,000 mirrors that look like a vast glass crop circle carved into a lonely landscape of sagebrush and tumbleweed. The mirrors will redirect the sun's rays to heat the salt up to 1,050°F, temperatures so extreme that the plant had to be designed by rocket scientists. The salt will then be stored in the plant's matching hot tank, where its excess heat will be available to spin steam turbines and generate electricity at any time—even after the sun has set behind the Sierra Nevada.

"Solar power at night," says Smith, the CEO of SolarReserve. "It's a new world."

This first-of-its-kind solar plant with built-in storage, designed to power 75,000 homes day or night, is just one promising corner of the new world of electricity. The U.S. has enjoyed a surge of climate-friendly renewable power over the past five years, with wind capacity tripling and solar increasing about sixteenfold—in fossil-fueled conservative strongholds like Georgia, Idaho and Texas as well as blue states like California, New York and Massachusetts. Solar and wind still produce less than 6% of U.S. electricity, but they're growing fast as their costs shrink, providing 90% of the new power capacity installed in the first quarter of 2014. A Citigroup analysis recently concluded that the "age of renewables" has begun, as alternative power sources that once appealed mostly to crunchy-granola eco-types have become increasingly affordable and therefore increasingly mainstream.

The renewables frenzy hasn't been the only transformation of the power sector. A better-publicized boom in domestic natural gas has begun to crowd out much dirtier coal plants, which are still America's largest source of electricity but are shutting down in droves. An overhyped "nuclear renaissance" has sputtered, hamstrung by exorbitant costs. And U.S. electricity demand, after decades of growth, is now virtually flat, thanks not only to the Great Recession but also to government efficiency rules and private-sector innova-

tions that have reduced our consumption without crimping our lifestyles.

The big news in electricity these days is the Obama Administration's June 2 proposal for new carbon regulations, which aim to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions from power plants by 30% from their 2005 levels. It's an ambitious effort to confront global warming and President Obama's most significant second-term initiative to date. But emissions have already dropped 17% from their 2005 levels. The new rules will only accelerate ongoing shifts from coal to gas and renewables, from dirty to clean supply, from increasing to flat or even decreasing demand. No matter what happens to the rules, those trends are already visible and probably irreversible. They're disrupting an industry that isn't used to change, and they'll revamp our relationship with a commodity that we usually think about only when our lights go out or our phones run out of juice. "The revolution is happening now," says Energy Secretary Ernest Moniz. "We don't know how fast things will change, but it's a very exciting time."

### "It's Dollars and Cents"

THERE'S NOT MUCH TO SEE IN THE 200 miles between Las Vegas and the Crescent Dunes plant that will help keep it well lit—a couple of emptied-out gold-mining towns, a few brothels and a panoramic expanse of arid rangeland where ranchers like Cliven Bundy run cattle. But as a business venture, Crescent Dunes has a lot of company. It represents a new gold rush, launched after President Obama's election.

In 2008 the U.S. solar industry barely existed. A fledgling wind industry had been crushed by the financial crisis. But Obama had vowed to double renewables in his first term, and his stimulus bill poured \$90 billion into clean energy in his first month in office, an astonishing funding increase for all things green. The idea was to cut emissions that fry the planet while giving innovative industries the jump start they needed to compete. Obama's top energy aide, Carol Browner, told a group of clean-tech executives, "You always say you just need a push. Well, this is your push."

Crescent Dunes got a big push, a \$737 million loan from the same Energy Department program that financed the failed solar manufacturer Solyndra. But Crescent Dunes is a much safer investment, with a 25-year contract in place to sell power to the Las Vegas utility NV Energy. In fact, although the loan program has become a Republican punching bag—Paul Ryan called Crescent Dunes an "ill-fated venture" in his

## MAKING THE JUMP FROM

**CLEAN ENERGY**  
generates a fraction of U.S.  
electricity from power plants

Share of electricity produced in 2013:



\*(such as water, wind and sun)

### REGULATORY PUSH

Since 2005, carbon emissions have fallen by 17%. Obama's new proposal would expand that drop to 30% by 2030. The plan aims to reduce greenhouse gases by 730 million metric tons. That's the annual equivalent of:

150 million cars



65 million homes



### THE PROMISE

■ All the energy stored in the earth's reserves of coal, oil and natural gas is matched by the energy from just 20 days of sunshine

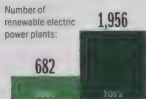
**A new solar-power system is now installed on an American roof every three or four minutes**



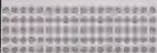
# COAL TO SOLAR

## RENEWABLE PLANTS

have opened, and more than 70 coal plants have been retired



(two-thirds of all passenger cars in the U.S.)



(half the homes in the U.S.)



## NATURAL GAS

is on track to become the dominant resource

Share of new power added in 2013:



The plan would also reduce smog and soot by 25%:



gigawatts. Last year wind's emission reductions were the equivalent of taking 20 million cars off the road.

Solar started from a tiny baseline (see chart), so the immediate impact of its spectacular growth is not as impressive. But its costs are plunging even faster than wind's, with prices for photovoltaic panels dropping more than 80% in five years. For example, Georgia had no solar to speak of in 2011, but conservative Republicans on its utilities commission have made it the nation's fastest-growing solar state, forcing Georgia Power to buy more than 800 megawatts of photovoltaic electricity. Commissioner Bubba McDonald says some of his constituents who associated solar with Solyndra accused him of losing his mind, but they usually calmed down once he explained that he was protecting them from rate increases. There have been similar stories in North Carolina and Idaho, and Austin's utility recently signed the least expensive long-term solar deal on record.

"It's dollars and cents," McDonald says. "Our solar deals are all coming in way under our avoided costs." Sunlight is free, he points out, and we're unlikely to run out of it anytime soon. "If we do, nothing else matters, right?"

This fuel switching at the power plant level is a big deal, and Obama's carbon rules should encourage more of it. But the rise of distributed solar—panels on the rooftops of homes and commercial buildings—could become an even bigger deal. A new solar-power system is now installed on an American roof every three or four minutes, often through leasing deals that require no money down and lock in lower electric bills for years. Wall Street behemoths like Bank of America and Goldman Sachs are pouring cash into rooftop solar, as are giant corporations like Walmart and Google, while a range of new financing mechanisms are making solar investments even more attractive. The installer SolarCity has begun to bundle customer leases into solar-backed securities, which could be as transformative (though hopefully not as dangerous) as mortgage-backed securities. And while the panels are now amazingly cheap—down from more than \$75 per watt 40 years ago to less than 75¢ per watt today—the solar industry is just starting to drive dramatic reductions in "soft costs" like permitting, marketing and installation.

The rooftop boom is turning families and business owners into electricity producers as well as consumers, threatening to upend the power sector the way the Internet

■ Covering 4% of the world's desert areas with photovoltaics could supply the equivalent of all of the world's electricity

## THE PITFALLS

■ The amount of sunlight on earth is **not constant**. It varies by location, time of day, time of year and weather conditions

■ Solar plants require **transmission lines** to deliver power from remote areas to metro areas

■ The U.S. already has many functioning **coal plants**

2014 budget—the vast majority of its portfolio is doing fine. That portfolio includes the world's largest solar thermal plant in California, the world's largest photovoltaic solar plant in Arizona and several other gigantic projects that are converting sunlight into power. And the push worked: the private sector is now building solar plants without federal loans. NV Energy just announced plans to replace its Reid Gardner coal-fired plant with solar and gas.

"We're showing it can be done, and next time we'll do it a lot cheaper," says SolarReserve's Smith.

The shift to clean power, after all, is mostly about saving money, not saving the earth. (It's not about reducing dependence on foreign oil, either; oil fuels our vehicles, not our power plants.) The more that renewables are deployed, the cheaper they're becoming to deploy, as new industries achieve economies of scale and move down the learning curve and financiers stop charging "risk premiums" for previously unproven

technologies. At the same time, the coal plants that supply more than a third of U.S. power face mounting regulatory costs—not only from the upcoming carbon crackdown but also from the Obama Administration's earlier limits on soot, mercury and other toxic substances. As coal is forced to pay for its pollution, its price advantage is disappearing. Electricity rates have remained historically low even though 165 coal-fired plants, representing one-fifth of the nation's coal-generated electricity, have been retired or are scheduled to retire.

In the middle of the country, wind is now frequently the cheapest source of power. A unit of American Electric Power, a leading coal utility, requested bids last year for 200 megawatts of wind power in Oklahoma; the bids came in so low, it bought 600 megawatts. This was not an outlier. In 2009 the Energy Information Administration predicted that it would take more than two decades for U.S. wind capacity to reach 40 gigawatts. It has already passed 60

upended the newspaper business. This is creating huge opportunities. California-based SolarCity has watched its share price soar more than 600% since it went public in December 2012 and is hiring 400 employees a month. But the boom for some is creating huge challenges for others: Barclays just downgraded the bonds of the entire electric-utility sector, deeming it unprepared for radical changes to its century-old business model. Even the Edison Electric Institute, the main utility trade group, has started warning its members to adapt or die. "We know we need to reinvent ourselves," says David Owens, the institute's executive vice president. "We're ready for the challenge."

### Cleaner Supply, Lower Demand

MOST REGULATED ELECTRIC UTILITIES make money by selling power; their customers who go solar are becoming quasi-competitors. And the utilities still have to maintain their distribution lines, which they say will force them to raise rates for nonsolar customers, which could in turn spur more customers to go solar—the so-called utility death spiral. This isn't happening yet, because there are still fewer than half a million solar rooftops in the U.S. But more solar was installed in the past 18 months than in the previous 30 years. That's why utilities in states like Arizona and California have launched campaigns to limit their customers' ability to sell power back to the grid, to try to discourage solar adoption. They see their rate base slipping away.

NRG Energy CEO David Crane, whose firm owns generating plants as well as retail power providers—it purchased North America's largest wind farm on June 4—describes the utilities as dinosaurs. He scoffs that they're clinging to a status quo of centralized power distributed through intrusive transmission lines and 130 million wooden poles, trying to keep their ratepayers—they never used to be described as "customers"—in a dependent state.

"They're fighting a classic rearguard action against the inevitable conquest of clean distributed energy," he says. "But when you have something better and cheaper, it can go viral fast."

Crane is trying to build a full-service energy company—he cites Amazon and Facebook as models—that would help customers manage and reduce their power consumption, while offering solar panels (as well as home storage solutions for after dark) to help them generate their own power with minimal reliance on the electrical grid. For years, electricity has been a

one-way commodity—your utility sends it to you, and you pay a monthly bill—but the future looks interactive, with text messages alerting you about inefficient appliances so you can reprogram them remotely with your iPhone. You'll have more information and more choices than ever.

The energy-storage part of the equation is still in its infancy. Batteries are expensive, although getting less so, and it's obviously impractical to heat molten salt at home. But the rise of Big Data and other information technology has fueled a boom in products that are designed to help you control, optimize and reduce your energy use. In January, Google spent \$3 billion to buy Nest and its wi-fi-enabled smart thermostats. Virginia-based Opower, which went public in April, works with 93 utilities to promote conservation, most famously smiley faces that let homeowners know on their bills if they're using less power than their neighbors. Opower co-founder Alex Laskey says his firm saved customers enough elec-

tricity last year to power the city of Miami.

Meanwhile, the cost of energy-efficient LED lighting has been plummeting as well, with some analysts expecting it to command one-third of the lightbulb market within three years. North Carolina-based Cree now sells 60-watt replacements for \$9.97 at Home Depot, which is still pricey for bulbs, but since they use about one-fifth the electricity of traditional incandescents and last about 25 times as long, they are expected to save the average consumer more than \$100 over a bulb's lifetime. And lighting uses about one-fifth of the electricity in the U.S., so a massive market shift could massively reduce demand. The Obama Administration has also ratcheted up efficiency standards for industrial motors, walk-in freezers and other appliances: overall, the standards are expected to save 50 power plants' worth of juice.

All this should mean lower bills for consumers, and if the new proposed carbon rules force more coal plants off-line,





**Up in smoke** Coal plants are still the main source of U.S. electricity, but their future prospects are dim

**There are now as many jobs in the solar and wind industries as there are in the coal industry, but clean energy can't match fossil energy's political clout**

depressed demand will help offset the loss of supply. But for utilities that need to sell power to survive, the new landscape is scary, especially as more ratepayers install miniature power plants on their rooftops. "Utilities are screwed unless they can reform themselves into something new," says Jon Wellinghoff, who chaired the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission from 2009 to 2013. "It's amazing how fast this stuff is changing."

Edison Electric's Owens says the industry recognizes that the landscape is changing, that utilities need to become service providers rather than commodity salesmen and that decarbonization and decentralization are inexorable (though gradual) trends. He says state regulations need to change too so utilities can make money from the clean-power and energy-efficiency revolutions while making sure the lights stay on. "We actually look at this as a fun time," Owens says.

#### **Facing the Heat**

COAL PLANTS ARE FILTHY, SPEWING THREE-fourths of the electric industry's carbon emissions, but they do provide around-the-clock power. So do nuclear plants, which are emissions-free but increasingly uneconomical to build and in some cases even to keep running. By contrast, wind and photovoltaic solar are intermittent, so their rapid growth could pose problems for grid operators who must constantly balance supply and demand. Ted Nordhaus, a co-founder of the Breakthrough Institute, says clean-energy advocates have fallen too deeply in love with renewables—and he says this even though he just installed solar panels on his Bay Area roof.

"I started my career as a renewables guy, and they've gotten a lot better and cheaper. But it's going to be a long time before they can power a global economy," Nordhaus says. "There's this faith-based belief that renewables can do it all."

There are still hundreds of U.S. coal plants that aren't slated to close anytime soon. And for now, cheap natural gas unleashed by the fracking boom is likely to pick up much of the slack for coal plants that close. But renewables will keep expanding, not just in the U.S. but also around the world. Oil-rich Saudi Arabia has launched a \$100 billion solar initiative, and coal-powered China is about to become the world's largest market for renewable energy, with 250 gigawatts of wind and solar planned by 2020. Utilities often warn that the U.S. grid will struggle to integrate large amounts of renewables that stop gen-

erating power when the wind stops blowing or the sun sets, but renewables aren't ubiquitous enough to cause problems yet. And those potential problems could fade as the grid gets more automated and wind-tracking technology gets more advanced. The wind is usually blowing somewhere, and when it isn't, gas plants can be turned on and off fairly quickly.

The bigger threat to clean power is politics. There are now as many jobs in the solar (150,000) and wind (50,000) industries as there are in the coal industry (200,000), but clean energy can't match fossil energy's clout. Republicans are on the verge of suspending a renewable mandate in coal-rich Ohio, which would become the first state to overturn such a mandate. Wind and solar are much less reliant on subsidies than they used to be—homeowners keep installing rooftop solar in California even though the state rebate fund has run out—but like all forms of energy, they receive some government advantages that can always be rescinded. SolarReserve, the developer of Crescent Dunes in Nevada, is now focusing on building solar plants in countries like Chile and South Africa because of uncertainty about a U.S. tax credit that expires in 2016.

"People say we should survive on our own—what about the fossil guys?" Smith asks. "Their tax breaks never expire. And we've got a cleaner technology."

Brian Painter, SolarReserve's 63-year-old site manager at Crescent Dunes, has built fossil-fuel plants around the world, and he never thought much about their impact. People need power, even if they don't think much about where it comes from. But on his last project in South Korea, Painter started to doubt. "It's like, holy cow, look at the size of those stacks," he recalls. "You think what they're pumping into the atmosphere, and you start to question what you're doing with your life."

In a way, Painter says, Crescent Dunes is like any other power plant, using heat to make steam to spin turbines. But the heat is coming directly from the sun, instead of from fossils baked by the sun for millions of years. Now the molten salt storage will make the plant a kind of perpetual-motion machine, powered from 93 million miles away. Painter believes it will be a global model for clean, inexpensive and flexible electricity, bringing America's rocket-science ingenuity to the world.

"I've always loved building power plants, but this is what a power plant is supposed to be," he says. "This is the future."

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# TIME Money



THE WEEK  
THE TONY AWARDS  
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# The Culture



MUSIC

## Changing Stripes

While making his sophomore solo effort, *Lazaretto*, due June 10, **Jack White** drew lyrical inspiration from the one-act plays and poetry he wrote at age 19, pushing his eclectic blues-rock into new genre-defying territory.



BOOKS

## We All Scream

Susan Jane Gilman's novel *The Ice Cream Queen of Orchard Street*, out June 10, follows a Russian immigrant who becomes the dessert industry's most brutal mogul.



TELEVISION

## Little Women

ABC Family's splashy prime-time soap *Pretty Little Liars* returns on June 10 for another high-gloss season of secrets, betrayal and drama.



MUSIC

## Band Aid

Beloved Swedish duo **First Aid Kit** grow up on their new album, *Stay Gold*, a bright collection of smart, polished folk-pop songs out June 10.



# Good Humor Woman

## In a film about abortion, comedian Jenny Slate gets serious

By Lily Rothman

IT'S HARD NOT TO ASCRIBE MEANING TO JENNY Slate's Shirley Temple. The actor who orders the grenadine and ginger ale is not unlike the drink itself—a little bit retro and a lot sweet. She lists embroidery among her hobbies; she doesn't like "sourpusses" or "grumps"; and Kristen Wiig, who worked with Slate on *Saturday Night Live*, says her cast mate's affect is so joyful that she "heard little birds singing and a unicorn appeared" when they first met. On the other hand, sometimes a Shirley Temple is more than an adorable beverage. Soda also happens to be one of Slate's favorite hangover cures.

If anyone can make a child's cocktail a window to the soul, it's Slate, who matches girliness with ribaldry, innocence with insight and sharp wit. "I feel like I'm exactly like Sylvia Plath, except I'm bad at poetry," says Slate, who is reading a biography of the poet. "She wanted to be good at what she knew she was good at." That balance of striving and silly is on display in Slate's new movie, *Obvious Child* (in limited release on June 6), in which she plays a struggling comedian dealing with an unplanned pregnancy and a matter-of-fact abortion. Serious issues abound in the film, but it's only minutes before her character, Donna Stern, is delivering a joke about gastrointestinal distress and explaining that an unpleasant bodily by-product is due to the fact that "I have a human vagina."

Slate, 32, is best known for playing outsize characters on shows like *Parks and Recreation* (Mona-Lisa, the unflinchingly unpleasant twin sister of Jean-Ralphio) and *Girls* (Tally Shiffrin, a college classmate who inspires jealousy in Lena Dunham's Hannah) and for being the voice of Tammy on the animated *Bob's Burgers*. An understated performance also brought kudos when she co-wrote and voiced the title character in a viral video short called *Marcel the Shell With Shoes On*, directed by her now husband

Dean Fleischer-Camp. Marcel is cute and captivating as he reveals small secrets in a gravelly voice. ("Guess what I wear as a hat," he says. "A lentil.") The twee, melancholy humor struck a chord: the video has more than 22 million views on YouTube and gave rise to a sequel, a book and a prospective movie. But the happy medium was missing: Slate loves comedy but wanted, she says, to "talk in a normal voice, not just make faces all the time."

### Child's Play

SLATE GREW UP OUTSIDE BOSTON, IN AN ARTISTIC home; her father was a 2005 National Book Critics Circle Award finalist for poetry. She always wanted to act, to play pretend like a kid with, as she puts it, "a lady's body and my own will." After graduating from Columbia University, where she was active in the undergrad comedy scene, she started doing stand-up and sketch, working with the noted Upright Citizens Brigade comedy program and surprising herself with odd jobs. She developed a style that was more TMI than taboo, sometimes gross but never mean-spirited.

That was how *Child's* writer-director, first-timer Gillian Robespierre, found her. After 2007, the year of *Knocked Up* and *Junlo*, Robespierre and some friends decided to make a short film to depict an unplanned pregnancy with a different outcome. They were looking for an actress who could do both bawdy and genuine, and a trip to a show starring Slate and her comedy partner Gabe Liedman (who is in the movie as well) proved fateful. "I just felt like we went to camp together," Robespierre recalls. "Her material was about dry-humping furniture."

The short, also called *Obvious Child*, was finished in 2009. Its plot carries over to the feature film: breakup, casual sex, abortion treated seriously but not tragically and romance. It now boasts an impressive supporting cast—Gaby

"People can misunderstand me sometimes," Slate says. "I am a little silly, but I'm not stupid."



Hoffmann, David Cross, Richard Kind, Polly Draper and *The Office's* Jake Lacy in the romantic role—and a richer life for Donna. The gap between 2009 and 2014 was a big one for Slate too. She got roles on shows like HBO's *Bored to Death* and in movies like *The Lorax*, and co-created *Marcel*. She married. She moved to Los Angeles. She saw a stray dog while walking her own, and now she has two.

And she spent a year at SNL. Shortly after the *Child* short wrapped, Slate started at what should have been a dream job, as a featured player on the legendary comedy show. It was the first time humor would pay her bills. But while in character as a biker chick on her first show, she dropped an F bomb on live TV. Wiig, who acted opposite Slate in that sketch, says, "It was just a mistake and she was obviously a little nervous about it afterward, but it was fine." Still, something didn't click. She wasn't rehired after the 2009–10 season, and for years after, she fretted that her peers would see her as a pariah. Getting older has helped her get over that, as has getting work—particularly this work.

"Somehow I've made a safe escape," she says. "Making this movie was a turning point for me more than anything else. But also, wanting to be on SNL, being on it, having it not be what I thought it would be and then having it be over not by my own choice is like the best thing that could have happened to me, because it freed me up."

A few months after the cursing incident, Sigourney Weaver hosted SNL. She gave Slate a piece of unsolicited advice: If anyone told her she wouldn't make it, she should direct the word that got her in trouble at that person. "I wonder why she gave me that advice then," Slate says. "I don't know that I was asking for it. Maybe I was and I didn't know it."

## Our Bawdy, Ourselves

A GOOD RETORT MAY YET COME IN HANDY. Slate describes herself as a delicate creature, but her new movie revolves around one of the most controversial topics in American society, and her face appears on a poster that features the word *abortion* in type nearly as wide as her head. The movie screened to rave reviews at Sundance and South by Southwest. Outside that self-selecting circuit, though, criticism is already appearing in the comments sections of websites that have posted the movie's trailer and at antiabortion blogs,

## Full Slate A partial résumé:



**SATURDAY NIGHT LIVE**  
During the 2009–10 season, Slate played characters like Hoda Kotb, above left, and Ashley Olsen



**MARCEL THE SHELL WITH SHOES ON**  
Slate's voice went viral in this 2010 stop-motion video; she hopes the feature-film version will be completed in a few years



**THE KROLL SHOW**  
On the Comedy Central sketch show, Slate's characters include a ridiculous publiast and her niece Denise



**PARKS AND RECREATION**  
Slate plays Mona-Lisa Saperstein, Jean-Ralpho's sister and "the worst person in the world"



**OBVIOUS CHILD**  
In her new film—based on a 2009 short—Slate stars as a comedian facing a break-up, job loss and unplanned pregnancy

where the idea of depicting abortion with no moral repercussions has been dismissed as disgusting.

Robespierre is careful to say that *Obvious Child* is a rom-com rather than a public-service announcement, but the film doesn't skirt its central issue. Hoffmann, who plays Donna's experienced best friend, relays factual information—whether it hurt and how long it took—and Draper, as Donna's mother, describes the challenges of a pre-*Roe v. Wade* world in vivid detail. Robespierre worked with Planned Parenthood to ensure accuracy; the organization also allowed the crew to film at a clinic. At festivals, some women have said the movie made them feel better about their own experiences with abortions. "I feel like a guarder of those stories," Slate says. "They're not secrets, but they're precious. They're not anything to be ashamed of, but they're private." And they've made an impact on Slate, who says she now feels connected to the fight for reproductive rights.

There's a subtler activism at work in *Obvious Child*, which mines comedy from the workings of a female body without making that body undesirable. Donna talks about holding in gas during the early stages of a relationship, but she still seems datable. It's not as extreme as the *Bridesmaids* food-poisoning scene, but it's a realistic reminder that bathroom humor isn't just for the guys, in a world where sex and its aftermath can still be safer topics for a female comedian than farts.

Still, while Slate wants to support creative women—as *Obvious Child* does, behind the camera and in front—she has no interest in making broad statements about gender and comedy. "The second I become part of this now-is-the-time-for-women-in-comedy conversation, I completely erase my face, I x myself out," she says. "It feels not progressive at all to say now is the time for women in comedy. It feels rude. Are you going to stare at Lily Tomlin in her face and tell her that? She would punch you, and she should."

Slate's time, meanwhile, is filling up with work. She'll be on the FX show *Mariel* in July. More movies are in the pipeline, including one her husband is writing for her to star in. It's clear that her future isn't populated by comedic characters alone. "I couldn't have picked a better part to show everybody that I can act," she says of *Obvious Child*, "and also to prove it to myself."



# Movies



## Topic of Cancer. Teens cope lovingly in a faithful, lustrous *Fault in Our Stars*

By Richard Corliss

EARLY ON IN *THE FAULT IN OUR STARS*, Indianapolis 16-year-old Hazel Lancaster (Shailene Woodley) heads for a group therapy session for cancer teens on the second floor of a church. She means to take the elevator, but it is occupied by a boy in a wheelchair, his head chemo-bald, his aspect forlorn. For a moment, an odd thought may strike viewers who have not read John Green's best-selling novel on which the film is based but know it's basically a teenage take on the old weepie *Love Story* ("What can you say about a 25-year-old girl who died?"). Is Hazel, debilitated and depressed by thyroid cancer, to fall for, and spend the rest of the film with, this poor, bald, not-so-comely kid?

Of course not, we realize, as soon as Hazel meets the tall, handsome, personable Augustus Waters (Ansel Elgort), 18, a high school basketball star who lost a leg to osteosarcoma. Hazel's doctor has advised doubling her meds, but the true antidote is a strong dose of luh-uv. And Augustus is the sweetest Dr. Feelgood. His seeming ease with his prosthesis, and with what doctors tell him is an 85% chance of not dying soon, complements

her dour belief that "depression is not a side effect of cancer. Depression is a side effect of dying." Candide and Cassandra are the perfect match. And what is drama—all drama, really—but the story of beautiful people with terrible problems?

Most teens think they're on an adventure adults can't understand. For cancer teens, that adage is true; they are likely to die before they become adults. This faithful version of the Green novel, directed by Josh Boone, serves as Hollywood's own Make-a-Wish gesture. It allows Hazel and Augustus to pack the luster of a lifetime—first love, trip to Europe, meeting a famous author, last love—into what may be their only summer. Skeptical Hazel comes alive at the innocent touch of Augustus, who

**'Depression is a side effect of dying,' says the morose Hazel, who needs a dose of luh-uv from Augustus, her own Dr. Feelgood**

radiates the urgent charm of a vintage pop record—one that has just three minutes to raise your spirits or break your heart. Augustus does both.

He and she may weave the same magic on moviegoers, so smartly does the film enfold this loving couple in the cocoon of evanescent intimacy. The screenplay by Scott Neustadter and Michael H. Weber, whose scripts for *(500) Days of Summer* and *The Spectacular Now* also apotheosized the angst and ecstasy of young love, allows Hazel and Augustus one friend, Isaac (Nat Wolff), for misanthropic comic relief, while cannily excluding Hazel's parents (Laura Dern and Sam Trammell) from her secret world. Though her years of cancer treatments have made them experts at fretful optimism and pre-grieving, they can be chaperones but not confidants. And they must be denied access to their daughter's treehouse of love.

*Fault* has a few. A meeting in Amsterdam with Hazel's favorite author (Willem Dafoe) seems a bilious detour with an improbable payoff. The trip also affords the filmmakers an egregious scene at the Anne Frank Museum, where a Jewish girl's descent into the Holocaust is compared to a teen's cancer. To paraphrase Hazel's maxim on infinities: some atrocities are bigger than other atrocities.

Yet Hazel and Augustus will live in film lore because of the young actors who play them. Woodley, who graduated from supporting roles (George Clooney's rebellious daughter in *The Descendants*) to indie leads (the bookworm in *The Spectacular Now*) and her own YA-movie franchise (*Divergent*), has the gift of acting internally: she makes you watch her watch something, lets you read the mind of her character like a good book. Often photographed in dermatological closeup, Woodley's face is its own engrossing movie—an autumnal symphony of light and dark browns. She makes Hazel the ideal narrator and receptive audience to Augustus' agreeable showmanship.

Elgort, who plays Woodley's brother in the *Divergent* films, has a natural appeal and suave chemistry with Woodley. Though you know that *Fault*, like *Love Story*, is bound to have a body count, the symbiosis of these stars is so strong, you'll wish there could be a sequel. ■

# Movies

## Space Invaders Which big-screen alien is for you?

By Lily Rothman

THE STRANGERS CAME FROM outer space, and this summer they're landing at your local multiplex. The infiltration begins with *Edge of Tomorrow*, which opens on June 6, leading a wave of intergalactic visitors that will last into August. In the time-twisting *Edge*, the aliens are an invading horde laying waste to the future Earth, a swarm of massive, vaguely insectoid creatures with piranha-like mouths and the power to overrun the world as we know it. (Luckily, humankind has Emily Blunt and Tom Cruise on its side, with the twist that she's the action hero and he's reluctantly drawn into the fight.) But just as no two planets are alike, the summer's alien offerings come in many forms. There are friendly aliens and deadly ones. There are tech-savvy aliens. There are aliens who came to Earth recently, others who have been here for ages and some who mostly leave us alone. They can look like trees or trucks, jellyfish or raccoons, humans or hardware. There's even, in *The Signal*, a nod to the little-green-man era of alien imagination. The only difficulty for us moviegoers Earthlings will be deciding which ones are worthy of checking out.



WHERE DO YOU WANT TO ENCOUNTER ALIENS?

Don't worry

I know

Wait, isn't that scary?

Does that sound like fun?

WHY WOULD I BE SCARED? THEY'RE PROBABLY FRIENDLY

A quasi-raccoon is part of this wacky space bunch

HECK, YEAH!

ACTUALLY, THAT SOUNDS KIND OF STRESSFUL

Are you a kid?



### GUARDIANS OF THE GALAXY

The latest from Marvel features an interplanetary crew fighting (and joking) to keep the galaxy safe **AUG. 1**

### EARTH TO ECHO

The family-friendly flick updates *E.T.*'s take on aliens—if one comes to Earth, it's likely to need help—with a tech-inflected twist **JULY 2**

NON-KID-FRIENDLY EARTH INVASIONS AREN'T ON THE MENU THIS SUMMER—AND ADMIT IT, YOU'D BE SCARED ANYWAY

VERY

In the Laurence Fishburne film, *E.T.*'s stay secret

OF COURSE THAT'S WORSE, BUT THAT'S THE SITUATION



### THE SIGNAL

A hackers-on-a-road-trip drama turns into a terrifying thriller when its heroes go where they don't belong **JUNE 13**



Who do you want to come to the rescue?

TRANSFORMERS

What?

YES, TRANSFORMERS ARE ALIENS

### EDGE OF TOMORROW

The Mimics who invade Earth in this trippy actioner aren't merely nasty. They're also nearly impossible to defeat **JUNE 6**

Robotic suits are worn when fighting Mimics



### TRANSFORMERS: AGE OF EXTINCTION

A new take on robo-aliens who use our planet as their battleground **JUNE 27**

# Television



## Raising the Bars. Prison is a small world, but this drama is getting bigger

By James Poniewozik

IN THE DEBUT SEASON OF *ORANGE IS THE NEW BLACK*, PIPER Chapman (Taylor Schilling) arrived at Litchfield federal prison to serve a 15-month sentence for smuggling drug money to her ex-girlfriend Alex (Laura Prepon). Once inside, she spilled the secrets of her fellow inmates to her writer fiancé and cheated on him with Alex. In Season 2, Piper's jailbird pal Nicky (Natasha Lyonne) sits her down for a chat. "It's great to see you evolving, Piper," Nicky says, "getting past the whole 'I'm the star of my own movie and everyone else's too' complex."

Nicky is being a little sarcastic, but her snark is also a meta-comment on how much Netflix's best original series has evolved. *Orange* seemed like it would revolve around Piper, the naive, public-radio-listening Brooklynite arrested on a drug charge, who must check her privilege along with her personal belongings. But Piper turned out to be a mule, smuggling us into what was really an anthology of diverse, raunchy, moving, funny, ambitious stories. Any one character can be the star of *Orange*'s movie, and nearly everyone eventually is.

The first new episode deals with unfinished business for Piper, whom we last saw beating the holy roller out of Pennsatucky

(Taryn Manning), the born-again meth addict who had marked her for a shivving. But the series has a lot to catch up on. Netflix is streaming the entire 13-episode season on June 6, and binge watching helps a show with this mammoth cast. A significant character from Season 1 doesn't arise until the last of the six episodes screened for critics (and then only in conversation). Having built out dozens of colorfully named characters (Taystee, Yoga Jones, Black Cindy), the sprawling *Orange* is like *Game of Thrones*: Prison.

In prison, after all, a few square feet becomes a world. One new subplot involves prisoners training cockroaches to carry cigarettes from cell to cell: in lockup, a hallway can be the vast Sahara and a bug a camel laden with riches. Like *Thrones*, *Orange* is partly a story of territory, allegiance and clans, here divided largely by race. This tension heightens with the arrival of Vee (Lorraine Toussaint), a magnetic, leonine recidivist who promises to restore the days when black women ran the prison. (The Latinas presently control the kitchen, Litchfield's Iron Throne.)

But *Orange* is also about connection, putting the *mate* in inmate; the same women can be rivals and allies (or lovers). It's intersectional, polysexual, trans-cultural, sharply attuned to how every identity—racial, gender, ethnic—exists on a continuum. It makes perfect sense that this would be the show to make Laverne Cox a transgender TV star.

The story involving Piper's fiancé Larry (Jason Biggs) still feels remote and vestigial. But even it has a purpose: reminding us that outside, lovers are carrying on, babies growing up, life's distractions multiplying. When Larry tells Piper about waiting hours for a "bagnut" (a bagel doughnut), she says, "I forgot what it's like to have all that freedom to waste."

*Orange* is in some ways about waste: the waste of potential in the women locked up because of bad luck or bad choices. But like a resourceful prisoner, it wastes nothing and makes the most of little things. As Crazy Eyes (Uzo Aduba) says while enduring an oversalted cafeteria meal, "The secret is to pretend the salt is sugar." There are no bagnuts in Litchfield, but when *Orange* applies its imagination, the results are still pretty sweet. ■



### THEY'RE IN, MATES

Top: Aduba, left, and Schilling out of character (and on-screen orange); inset: Kate Mulgrew and Pablo Schreiber

# Music

## The Hardest-Working Man in Rock. Why Damon Albarn can't stop collaborating

By Dan Hyman

DAMON ALBARN IS AT A RARE LOSS, UNABLE to recall the name of a band he was in a few years back. It's understandable, given that the 46-year-old British rocker has spent the past 25 years playing in an ever-changing lineup of groups and collaborations, including Britpop icons Blur in the 1990s; the animated, dub-influenced virtual band Gorillaz in the aughts; and a multimedia opera, *Monkey: Journey to the West*, inspired by a 16th-century Chinese novel, which had its U.S. debut at Lincoln Center last year.

"What's that other band I was in?" Albarn asks on a recent afternoon, letting the words linger in midflight. He's trying to recall a one-off trio—you know, the one with the Red Hot Chili Peppers' bassist Flea and Nigerian drummer Tony Allen? "Ah, yes!" he declares. "Rocket Juice & the Moon!" He lets out a nervous laugh. "Hey, I've got a lot going on!"

That he does. Albarn remains consumed by his kaleidoscopic musical endeavors, which are almost compulsive in their variety: collaborations in Mali and Ethiopia with native musicians; production work on soul legend Bobby Womack's 2012 comeback album; an in-the-works bossa nova track for this summer's World Cup. And most recently, in April, the release of his weighty debut solo album, *Everyday Robots*, for which he hits the road this summer on a 24-date global tour, including stops at festivals such as New York's Governors Ball, Bonnaroo in

Tennessee and Denmark's Roskilde, with nightly set lists drawn from his brilliantly mystifying voyage of a career.

"Productivity can stop," Albarn offers as his principal motivation. "So I'm going to use every second that I've got of musical juice. And when it stops, I will hopefully take it gracefully. Until then, I'll try to keep getting up in the morning and going to work."

Albarn is speaking from his West London studio, having logged another eight-hour shift, a weekday custom when he's home. He picked up this workmanlike approach from his parents, who were originally farmers. "I like that sort of discipline," he says. "You have to be up and work, and then later you finish."

For *Everyday Robots*, Albarn journeyed to an isolated seaside home in Devon. Veteran producer Richard Russell, a longtime friend, urged Albarn to use his own life as a mirror ball of inspiration. As the leader of Blur, Albarn had lampooned contemporary Britain over buzzy guitar riffs. In his latest work, he shifts his focus inward. Amid lilting strings, tugging piano and soft electronic flourishes, the singer revisits a childhood in East London's Leytonstone (he recently returned there for inspiration), the paranoia and confusion of his mid-'90s peak celebrity and the hazy heroin fog of the following decade. ("Tinfoil and a lighter, the ship across/ Five days

on, two days off," he sings in one of the album's most revealing—and heavily dissected—lyrics). The personal subject matter of his songs, Albarn says, weaves "like a river... to the present."

Albarn, who has a teenage daughter with his longtime girlfriend Suzi Winstanley, the British painter, speaks of his soul-baring turn with great sincerity. As an artist, he has always projected a certain emotional acuity, but he also credits what he refers to as a recent "innate understanding that my life isn't much different from anyone else's. I felt [the album] had to be 100% about my life. And if I'm going to be a songwriter, that's an honest kind of way to go about my trade."

This openness is central to Albarn's continued creative streak, Russell says. "Damon has not cut himself off from everyday life," says the producer. "Damon is a people's artist. He's super approachable, and he's around, and I think that one of the reasons his music continues to be good is because he's not in a world of bullshit, of meaningless celebrity crap. He's in a world of musicmaking."

His fellow musicmakers have always responded to his inventiveness. "As far as I'm concerned, he is a genius," says drummer Allen, who helped pioneer the Afrobeat genre with Fela Kuti several decades before collaborating with Albarn on, among other projects, 2007's *The Good, the Bad & the Queen* with the Clash's Paul Simonon. "He's the kind of person I'm always looking to work with. Always moving."

After recently reuniting with Blur for a final tour—"A band in a way can only take you so far," he says. "Inevitably musicians will go their different ways"—Albarn is optimistic about his forthcoming outing. He'll be joined by a cadre of the collaborators he's accumulated on his musical odyssey, a reflection of his desire to keep experimenting.

"It's fantastic," he says, "because at some point I'll be able to turn around and say, 'I want to play this song,' and really intuitively gauge the mood of an audience, which is something that I love. Just that sense of everyone together onstage... allowing the evening to sort of evolve without too much planning. That's my dream."

### Gorillaz and Monkeys. A quick guide to Albarn's output



**BLUR**

As singer for the British rockers, Albarn scored a U.S. hit with "Song 2." Its "woo-hoo" chorus became a TV sports anthem.



**GORILLAZ**

A virtual band co-created by illustrator Jamie Hewlett, it became a fave with critics (Clint Eastwood) and "Feel Good Inc."



**MONKEY: JOURNEY TO THE WEST**

Albarn and Hewlett worked with Chinese director Chen Shi-Zheng to create this multimedia opera.





# Pop Chart

LOVE IT



LeVar Burton's Kickstarter campaign to revive *Reading Rainbow* raised \$1 million in under 24 hours.

Parks and Recreation star Amy Poehler revealed that *her first book, Yes Please*, will hit shelves Oct. 28.



To the relief of coffee-shop baristas everywhere, NASA and MIT scientists say *they can set up Wi-Fi on the moon*.

Hope you're hungry: a "bigger and fatter" sequel to *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* is in the works with original stars Nia Vardalos and John Corbett reprising their roles.

## THE DIGITS

## 2.16 million

## VERBATIM

'It's one of those things that you think ... What could you do beyond that one?'

ANGELINA JOLIE, on possibly retiring from acting after playing *Leopatra* in King Lear's forthcoming biopic



**SURREAL TALK** Salvador Dalí made Surrealism famous, but there's more to him than wilting clocks (as in *The Persistence of Memory*) and floating orbs (as in *Máxima Velocidad de la Madonna de Rafael*, above). To prove it, the Bank of Brazil Cultural Center is hosting the country's largest-ever Dalí exhibition, in Rio de Janeiro through Sept. 22.

Instagram Likes for the Kimye wedding kiss uploaded by Kim Kardashian on May 27, making it the app's most popular photo; the previous record holder was a five-month-old shot of Justin Bieber cuddling with Selena Gomez

## QUICK TALK

## Taylor Schilling

On June 6, it's back to Litchfield prison for Netflix's *Orange Is the New Black* crew—including Schilling, 29, who stars as unlikely convict Piper Chapman. Here, the Golden Globe-nominated actress talks to TIME. —LILY ROTHMAN

**Piper ended last season with a big fight. Did that involve any physical training?** [Laughs.] No. When I was in school, I did a bunch of stage combat. **I really thought you were about to say you got in a lot of fights.** Big exclusive: I was a tough girl! But no. I did stage combat. It's not totally out of left field for me to do a fight on camera. **How has the show affected your thoughts on the color orange?** Jeez. It is not easy to wear. I feel like it's a little too self-referential for me to put that color on, pretty much ever. **Have you cleansed your closet?** I gotta say, orange was not a big part of my wardrobe. **What about the fruit?** The fruit? **What do you mean? Oranges.** Oh! I love orange as a fruit. **One of the great things about a show set in prison is the never-ending stream of new, quirky characters. Who would be your dream actress to play a Litchfield inmate?** So many! The other day I thought of Diane Keaton. I don't know if she'd ever join us in jail. **Before you go, can we talk about that infamous chicken that showed up in one episode last season? Will the chicken return?** I don't know. We could put that request in. **Officially?** We can officially make that request.

“ON MY RADAR

> *Downton Abbey*

"I root for Edith, but I love to be annoyed with Mary."





**GETTING THE BOOT** Here's a new use for any Pringles cans you might have lying around: turn them into a giant soccer cleat. Just be forewarned that you won't be the first. Sculptors spent nearly 300 hours crafting the 17-foot, 1,500-can work of art. It now sits at Wembley Stadium in London, where fans are encouraged to rub the sides to bring good luck to England's World Cup team, which plays its first game against Italy on June 14.

ROUNDUP

# Wackiest Eating Records

If you can't take the heat, get out of the kitchen—or at least out of Molly Schuyler's way. The 125-lb. mother of four wolfed down two 72-oz. steaks, a baked potato, a buttered roll, a shrimp cocktail and a salad in under 15 minutes, setting a record at a Texas eatery. But the "meals" gobbled in competitions are rarely as balanced as hers. Here are five other mouthfuls that redefine the term *glutton for punishment*, all certified by the International Federation of Competitive Eating.



6 lb.

SPAM IN  
12 MINUTES

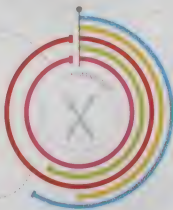
Eaten by Richard  
LeFeure in April 2004



44

LOBSTERS IN  
12 MINUTES

Eaten by Sonya  
Thomas in  
August 2005



121

TWINKIES IN  
6 MINUTES

Eaten by Joey Chestnut  
in October 2013

275

PICKLED  
JALAPENOS IN  
8 MINUTES

Eaten by Patrick  
Bertoletti in  
May 2011

1 gal.

MAYONNAISE IN  
8 MINUTES

Eaten by Oleg Zhornitskiy in  
February 2002



Two five-year-old videos surfaced of Justin Bieber making racist jokes.



Can't stand the cologne odor in Abercrombie & Fitch? You're not alone: new research says ambient scents in stores can cause anxiety.

The priciest Starbucks drink ever ordered—containing 60 espresso shots for \$54.75—is an actual health hazard.



A high school in Utah tweaked yearbook portraits to add extra fabric on female students showing too much skin—like bare shoulders.

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## 99¢ Loyalty

One writer's dramatic account of surviving the feud between Amazon and Hachette



WHEN I JOINED THE LITERARY community in 2012 by writing my first book, I anticipated long teas with brilliant minds debating complicated issues during which I'd pretend not to be bored—just like a meeting at *TIME*, except with tea. Instead, I find myself in the middle of a brutish corporate battle during which I am also bored.

Although the negotiations haven't been made public, it seems that Hachette, which published my book (*Man Made: A Stupid Quest for Masculinity*, ISBN 978-0446573122), wants to set a minimum price for each of its e-books on Amazon, fearing the online retailer will sell books at 99¢ to draw people in to spend money on more expensive items, such as anything that's not a book. I personally think there isn't a business model based on people being "drawn in" by books, as proved by the fact that there are no longer bookstores. I also suspect that lower prices don't make a huge difference in book sales. I've never heard someone say, "I spent two months reading Robert Caro's Lyndon Johnson bio instead of Doris Kearns Goodwin's because it was \$6 less." Per hour of entertainment, there is nothing cheaper than a book. Except everything on the Internet.

**Still, Hachette's demand was enough** to cause Amazon to go Mario Puzo on the publisher's books. A Malcolm Gladwell book now "ships in 2–3 weeks," which is longer than it takes Malcolm Gladwell to write new books. You can't preorder J.K. Rowling's pseudonymous novel *The Silkworm*, which is also listed very unpseudonymously. Questlove's memoir *Mo' Meta Blues* costs nearly 50% less on Barnes & Noble's website. A banner ad across Jeffery Deaver's *The Skin Collector* attempts to lure readers away by suggesting three "similar items at a lower price" with way less disgusting titles.

So it was with trepidation that I went to Amazon to see what barbarism

it had committed on my book's page—changing my author photo to one of my high school mullet shots, perhaps, or allowing yet more people to start their one-star reviews with "No, I haven't read the book." But there was nothing. My book was the same price as it was at Barnes & Noble's website, could be shipped the next day and could even be purchased for a slightly higher price as a "collectible" first edition, despite the fact that there's no second edition. Amazon was not just selling my book; it was pushing it hard. It was acting like stacked boxes of my book were starting to stink up its warehouses with their putrid moldering, which is highly possible since that's what's happening in my basement.

This cannot be an oversight. Amazon attracts some of the best engineers in tech, so I'm pretty sure they can figure out which authors have egos so huge that being left out of a feud would destroy their confidence, leaving them unable to write again. Probably with an algorithm that looks for covers with the author's name in a ginormous font under a photo of him stepping on a bear he supposedly hunted.



**Ordinarily I would do something about** this outrage. I would write a mean joke about Amazon on Twitter or mumble something about them being jerks at a party where I knew no one there worked in tech or was from Seattle. But despite how Amazon is purposely hurting me, I can't join the vast majority of authors and publishers taking Hachette's side. I buy everything from the enemy of literature, including my groceries, which Amazon Fresh gathers from my favorite shops all over Los Angeles and then delivers to my door. My gentle emails telling them they forgot an item are responded to with apologies and a \$35 gift certificate. I'm vaguely aware that Amazon's warehouse workers have to wear monitors counting down the seconds they have to race to get my soap and deodorant, but I think they understand that's a small price to pay for my not having to walk around stores and interact with cashiers.

Also, back when I created a page for *TIME* in which important people drew Thanksgiving turkeys in the shape of their traced hands, Jeff Bezos did a fantastic job, even gluing Legos to his drawing, despite my giving him no good reason to do this. Meanwhile, I've never had any interaction with Louis Hachette, partly because he's French, partly because he died in 1864 and partly because I didn't sell enough books to make it worth his time to return my telegraphs.

It's hard to have company loyalty when we're all free agents with our brands and followers. I have no idea who will publish my next book, though I do know they'll be sorry they did. And I would leave Amazon for a company that delivered even snob-brier groceries faster. More important, I know that cat videos are a bigger threat to books than e-book pricing. So I hope Hachette gets what they've asked for, and the old system stays in place so books can still cost enough that publishers can continue to pay me advances they'll never get back. Or that Amazon publishes my next book. They can pay me in gift certificates. ■





There isn't an app for this.

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with a community overseas.  
Be a Volunteer.

[peacecorps.gov](http://peacecorps.gov)

# 10 Questions

## Thirty-two-year veteran of the CIA **Jack Devine** on Edward Snowden, recruiting traitors and shoe phones

**You've written a book, *Good Hunting*. Aren't spies supposed to be covert?**

Almost all covert action eventually becomes public. Very little I did is still classified. I believe covert action is a very important instrument to statecraft. And the book has been scrubbed [by the CIA].

**Your main job in the field was recruitment, which is a nice way of saying you got people to betray their countries for money. How do you do that?**  
How do you sell anything in life? You have to have a product, you have to develop a relationship, and in that relationship you have to be able to identify people's strengths and weaknesses. And then you have to be able to ask that tough question: Will you help me? There is a sense of timing in it. It's an art form, very frankly.

**You write that your crowning achievement was helping the mujahedin expel the Russians from Afghanistan in the '80s. Since that led to the rise of the Taliban, was it a net positive?**  
It's almost impossible, at least in my experience, to fully grasp the unintended consequences 20 years hence. I supported the idea of trying to maintain a presence in Afghanistan after the Russians left. But now I think that if we had tried to put \$100 million in infrastructure, it would not have mattered. You cannot force-feed democracy.

**You also helped destabilize the Allende regime in Chile through funding and propaganda. Do you feel guilty about what happened there afterward?**

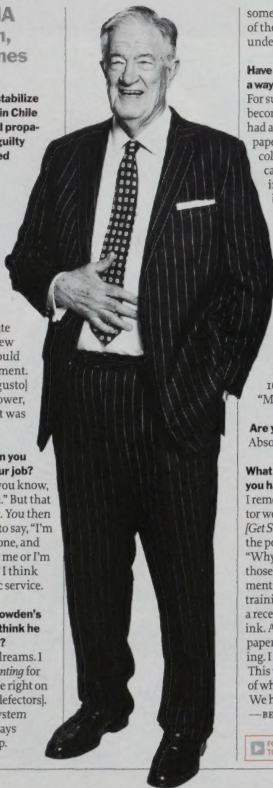
Maybe this says something about me, but I don't. The CIA's mission [at that point] was to support the opposition elements, not to foment a coup. Allende was overthrown in September '73. As late as June, the CIA's view was the military would support the government. When [General Augusto] Pinochet came to power, we had no idea what was going to come.

**What do you do when you doubt the goal of your job?**

You can say, "Look, you know, I'd like a job in Japan." But that doesn't always work. You then have to be prepared to say, "I'm not going to do this one, and you can either move me or I'm going to step down." I think this is a key to public service.

**So given Edward Snowden's conscience, do you think he should be pardoned?**

Not in your wildest dreams. I didn't call it *Good Hunting* for nothing. He would be right on my list [of potential defectors]. He knew what the system was, that there are ways to bring a problem up. Every defector has



Devine, a private contractor since 1998, used KGB contacts to get David Copperfield's trucks out of Moscow



some big story, but at the end of the day, they're usually underperformers.

**Have his actions hurt the U.S. in a way that's not yet apparent?**

For sure. And I hope it won't become apparent. What he had access to is not just the paper but the mechanism for collecting. Some of those capabilities have appeared in the press, and they have been shut down.

**What is the perfect age to tell one's child that one is a spook?**

I have six children, so I had a chance to practice. Early teens, 13, 14, is almost perfect. They're not looking at the world in complicated ways. I caught my middle daughter at 16, and her response was, "My father is an assassin!"

**Are you?**  
Absolutely not.

**What is the closest thing that you have to a shoe phone?**

I remember the [CIA] director would see something on [Get Smart] and call down to the poor technicians and say, "Why don't we have one of those?" On my first assignment in Chile, fresh out of training, I had a [contact] sign a receipt for money in invisible ink. A couple weeks later the paper had crumbled to nothing. I had to get it signed again. This will give you a sense of why we were not rogues. We had to produce receipts.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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